

The British numismatic journal and proceedings of the British Numismatic Society.

London : Printed for the Society by Harrison and Sons, 1905-

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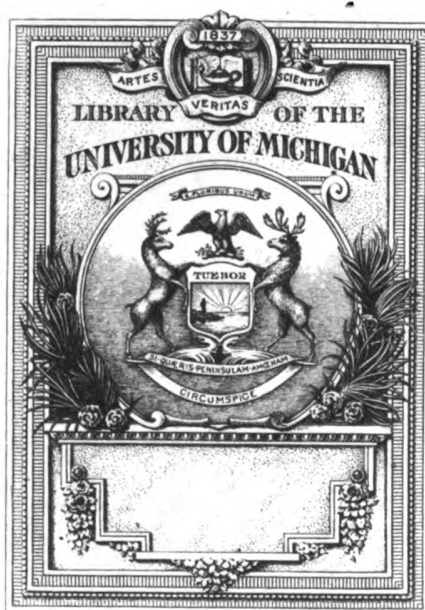
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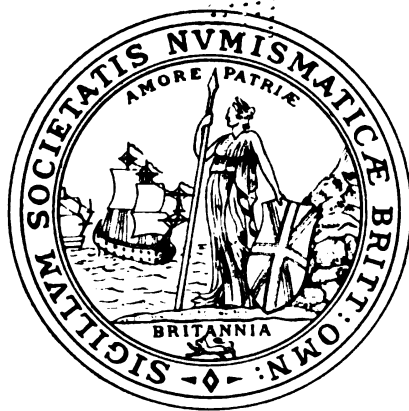
THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC
JOURNAL.

THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

1921-22

INCLUDING THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
FOR THE YEARS 1921-22.

EDITED BY
W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.,
IN PART, AND
COMPLETED BY
GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.,
PRESIDENT.



VOLUME XVI.
SECOND SERIES, VOLUME VI.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
HARRISON AND SONS, LTD., ST. MARTIN'S LANE,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

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SOME NOTES ON A COIN OF ANLAF FROM THE
DERBY MINT.

BY GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President.*

IN a paper on "Some coins of the tenth century found in the Isle of Man," printed in vol. v of this *Journal*, by the then learned President, Mr., now Major, P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., the author made some very interesting references to a fragment of a penny of Anlaf, King of Northumbria, which he illustrated as figure 1 of plate I and figure A of plate II of his paper.

On the incomplete evidence of the fragment, which is almost exactly one-half of the original coin, he attributed it to the moneyer Sigar of Derby by comparison with another coin by that moneyer, illustrated as figure B, which bears many similar characteristics. But the subsequent discovery of another coin enables me to correct Major Carlyon-Britton's attribution, and to show that the inscription on the fragment must have contained more letters than the name SIGAR, even when written in its possessive case, SIGARES, as on his figure B.



A.—FRAGMENT OF A PENNY OF ANLAF, KING OF NORTHUMBRIA, STRUCK AT DERBY.
FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

His reading of the erratic lettering of the mint-name on this fragment, our figure A, in which inverted L's are used for the R and B of DEOREB, for *DEORABY* the contemporary rendering of "Derby," as, for instance, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the

B

year 917, is claimed by him to be proved by a coin of Athelstan of that mint by Sigar in the National Museum at Rome. Whilst there would appear to be no doubt that Derby is the mint from which this fragmentary specimen of Anlaf emanated, as is indicated by the mint-name and Mercian \mathfrak{M} in the field, his attribution to the Derby



B.—PENNY OF ANLAF READING *SIGAR MONT*.
BRITISH MUSEUM.

mint on the sole authority of the fragment A of the specimen in the British Museum here illustrated as figure B, merely rests upon the logic of probability.

On a coin of Athelstan, our figure C, which I acquired some time ago, the moneyer's name and title are given as \pm SIGFOLDES MOT ON DEOGEF, and the two letters of the mint-name are identical with those which Major Carlyon-Britton described on the Anlaf fragment as "incompletely punched and representing R and B



C.—PENNY OF ATHELSTAN OF THE DERBY MINT, BY THE SAME MONEYER
AS THE ANLAF FRAGMENT—A. GRANT R. FRANCIS.

respectively," so that I am now able to correct the former attribution of that reading to the moneyer Sigar, and to identify it with the same moneyer as on my coin, namely, Sigfold. But my correction does not rest on the mere similarity of the spelling of the mint-name, for there is no doubt that the reverse of my coin and the reverse of Major Carlyon-Britton's fragment were actually struck from the same die; and further, that the lettering on the reverse

of the fragment is of quite different execution from that of the obverse. The latter is much more like the work of the second Anlaf coin by Sigar, our figure B, which he also illustrates as B, than the reverse appears to be.

Now Major Carlyon-Britton contended that this type of Athelstan was current "a little before and after" the year 928, and "that the coins of Æthelstan and Anlaf struck at Derby belong to the period of disturbance which prevailed between the death of Sihtric in 926, and the raid undertaken by Æthelstan against the king of the Scots in 933." He also believed that Derby was debatable ground held alternately by Athelstan and Anlaf; and he referred to Mr. Andrew's belief that the Battle of Brunanburgh took place in Derbyshire, and hoped that his claims might strengthen that view. They certainly would appear to do so, and I venture to think that my contentions will take us a step further in that direction, for they will probably fix the currency of this type of Athelstan's money at least eight or ten years nearer to the actual date of the battle.

We know that in 933 Athelstan made his raid against the Danes settled in the Lothians, and that history tells us little or nothing about Anlaf, the son-in-law of the Scottish king Constantine III, until the Battle of Brunanburgh in 937, when he was utterly defeated by the united forces of Athelstan and his brother Edmund. In further support of Mr. Andrew's contention that Brunanburgh was fought in Derbyshire, I would point out that not only were these two coins, the fragment of Anlaf and my penny of Athelstan, undoubtedly struck in Derby, but also that the same reverse die was used for both. Hawkins refers to a similar instance to this as happening in conjunction with Edmund's coinage, but it has not previously been noted in the case of Athelstan. It is natural to assume that after Athelstan's raid into Scotland, and not before it, his retiring army would be pursued, or at least followed in strength through Northumbria so far as Derby by the son-in-law of the Scottish King, whom Major Carlyon-Britton assumes to have succeeded to the Northumbrian throne in A.D. 926, though most of the other authorities give his reign there as much later, about 941. Derby

would then become the "debatable ground" previously mentioned, and was temporarily in the possession of Anlaf, who struck coins there, using such tools as he found in the mint suitable to his purpose. He would certainly not use an obverse die bearing his enemy's name and titles; but the reverse die being ready to his hand, was used with a new obverse, made, as is shown by the less careful formation of the letters of the obverse of the fragment, by an inferior workman whom he may have brought with him or pressed into his service.

Except, perhaps, during the events which preceded and immediately followed the great fight at Brunanburgh, Derby would appear to have remained in Anlaf's possession till about 943, when it was recaptured; and Anlaf's precedent of borrowing the reverse die of a coin previously used by his opponent would then seem to have been followed by King Edmund. If my theory is correct, this must place Anlaf's coins of the Derby mint later than Athelstan's coins at that mint, and I venture to think that the date of Anlaf's would be between Athelstan's raid into Scotland in 933, and a retaliatory raid through Derby in 937, which ended in the famous Battle of Brunanburgh, and not a date "very close to 928," as was claimed by Major Carlyon-Britton.

It is quite likely that Anlaf struck a considerable issue of coins in Derby, and anything of the kind would necessarily be accepted by Athelstan as a direct challenge of his regal authority and claim to the title REX TOTIUS BRITANNIÆ which he had adopted upon his coinage, even at Derby itself. Anlaf's money as it came into the Saxon King's hands would, of course, be re-melted after Brunanburgh but Derby's walled town evidently remained in his possession. Probably this fact and the use by Anlaf of Athelstan's previous type, would lead to a general recoinage by the latter quite different in type from that adopted by Anlaf, and this may well have brought in the coins bearing Athelstan's bust, instead of the less pronounced and recently discredited type with his name alone. If so, we should place type V of the British Museum Catalogue later than type VI, and these types, reversed, should in sequence be followed by type VII.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE TYPES OF EADWEARD THE MARTYR AND ÆTHELRÆD II.

BY MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.

IN this paper an attempt is made to arrange the types of the coinages of Eadweard the Martyr and Æthelræd II in their proper chronological sequence of issue, and to apply those principles and facts disclosed by combined types, or mules, and by overstruck specimens, which were utilised by the writer in his "Eadward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905, pages 179-205, and in his *Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I and II*.

Hildebrand's type C2 of Eadgar is so different in style and workmanship from any earlier Anglo-Saxon coin, whether of that king or of any predecessor, and is so like, in these respects, to the coins of Eadweard the Martyr and certain of those of Æthelræd II, that no reasonable doubt can exist as to its having been the last issued of Eadgar's coinages.

It, in fact, marks a period in the development of the Anglo-Saxon coinage in as definite a manner as does the introduction of the short-cross coinage of Henry II. Two of the chronological classifications hitherto attempted are 1, that of Hildebrand in his *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals at Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1881; and 2, that of Messrs. H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary, in *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum Saxon Series*, vol. ii, 1893.

Hildebrand does not perhaps claim in express terms to have made such a classification, but the arrangement of the types made by him coupled with his notes, afford evidence of an intention so

to do. He does not appear to have fully understood the significance either of *a*, recurring types, or *b*, combined types, or mules, as is clearly shown by his treatment of a substantive type of Eadweard the Confessor, type X of my arrangement, as a mere variety of his type A of that king's coinages, and his classification of a mule of types IX and X of the same sovereign as a variety of his type A.

These instances will suffice to convey my meaning, but many could be added. Messrs. Grueber and Keary, however, on page xxvi, specifically claim to have made a classification in these words: "From the time of Ælfred an historical arrangement of the types seems possible, and from that period it has been attempted"

THE INSCRIPTIONS, OR LEGENDS.

Before passing to a consideration of the various types of coins issued during the period now under review, it may be useful to make a few remarks of a general character in regard to the nature and the form of the inscriptions which appear upon the obverse and reverse respectively.

As regards the obverse, the legend consists of the name of the sovereign written in English, or without the Latin termination —*us*, followed by the Latin word *Rex* and the further Latin word *Anglorum*, as, for instance, *Eadweard rex Anglorum*, Eadweard King of the Angles, or English, that is, King of the people of England rather than of the country so named. Certain coins of Eadweard the Confessor of the "sovereign" type, type VIII of my arrangement, present the name of the king in the Latinised form *Eadweardus*, but this is a late and exceptional form of treatment.

As regards the reverse, the legend consists of the name of the moneyer followed by an abbreviation signifying his office, and lastly the name of the mint. The coins struck prior to the year 1000 present the name of the moneyer in English and apparently, like that of the king on the obverse, in the nominative—although it should be in the ablative—case followed by an abbreviation of the Latin word *monetario* in the ablative case. Then follows the name of the

mint, which is generally rendered in English. The longer readings seem to disclose an intention to present the locative or ablative case. The longest form of *monetario* which has come to my notice is *moneta*. The full stop indicates that the word is abbreviated, whilst the form M-O, generally used, shows that the ablative case is intended.

To illustrate my meaning by an example: +LVDA M-O EAXACEASTRE must, I think, be taken to mean [struck] by the moneyer Luda at Exeter, while +ÆDESTAN M-O ƿINTONI is an inscription of a similar character except that "at Winchester" is expressed in the Latin form ƿINTONI for *Wintonia*.

In or about the year 1000 the English word ON was introduced after the name of the moneyer. This word means *in*, in the sense of *at*. The word M-O, or some equivalent form, descriptive of the moneyer's office was sometimes retained immediately after the name of the moneyer and before the word ON, but eventually the reverse legend universally adopted consisted of the name of the moneyer in the nominative case, followed by the word ON and the name of the mint in the locative or ablative case. The following examples will illustrate my meaning:

+ODA ON ƿINCESTRE Æthelræd II.

+PINVS ON PILTVNE Eadweard the Confessor.

Here we have the name and place of work and residence of the moneyer:—Oda at Winchester, Winus at Wilton. The Latin form *Winus* clearly shows that the nominative case is intended.

It is interesting to note that the traders' tokens of the seventeenth century continued the use of the word ON, rendered in the English form of that time, IN. Upon these the name of the issuer followed by the word IN and the name of the place of issue almost universally appear.

For a more detailed statement of the various forms representing *monetario* and the time of use of the word *on*, readers are referred to table D at the close of this paper.

EADWEARD II, THE MARTYR, A.D. 975-978.

This king succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, Eadgar, on the 8th of July, 975, and was murdered on the 18th of March, 978. His reign, therefore, extended over a period of a little more than two years and eight months. In these circumstances we should not expect to find that he issued more than one type of coinage, but he is in fact accredited by Hildebrand and others, both before and after Hildebrand's time, with two types, which are denominated by him type A and type B. With these I will deal in turn.

TYPE I.—Hildebrand, type A; British Museum Catalogue, type ii.

This has upon the obverse a draped bust of the king turned to the spectator's left, the head filleted, with a plain inner circle, surrounded by the name and title of the king, all within an outer dotted circle.

The reverse has a small cross pattée within a plain inner circle, surrounded by the names of the moneyer and his mint, within an outer dotted circle.

As regards the types of obverse and reverse this coinage is entirely similar to the last issue of Eadgar, namely, Hildebrand, type C2, and British Museum Catalogue, type vi.

THE ALLEGED TYPE II.—Hildebrand, type B; British Museum Catalogue, type ii.

This "type" is represented by a single specimen from the Cuff, Murchison, Ford, Brice and Montagu cabinets. At the sale of the lastly mentioned collection it realised £12 and was acquired by the British Museum.

It is of the type of Æthelræd II, Hildebrand B1; obverse +EADWEARD REX ANGLORUM, with bust to the spectator's right, filleted; reverse, +PINE M-O LÆNTA Hand of Providence pointing downwards, between $\bar{\alpha}$ and $\bar{\omega}$.

The illustration of this piece in Ruding, plate C20, was made when it was in the collection of Mr. Cuff, and from this Hildebrand's illustration of it was copied. The wood block illustration in the British Museum Catalogue, II, page 192, was prepared from the piece when it was in the late Mr. Montagu's possession. The Editors append a note that " This unique coin was probably struck at Canterbury, the inscription on the reverse being PINE MO NAENTA (Caenta ?) " : but the readings which I have given above are taken from the autotype illustration in the Montagu Sale Catalogue, plate 6, 751 ; confirmed by an inspection of the piece itself. Wine struck coins of Eadgar's last type and of type I of Eadweard II at Canterbury. We have no evidence that he continued to coin there for Æthelræd II, but the same name occurs at Lymne on coins of type B1 of Hildebrand's arrangement.

Having carefully examined this unique piece I have come to the conclusion that it is one of the series of clever forgeries exposed by Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1897. These were from forged dies and were mostly overstruck on genuine coins, as is the piece now under consideration.

I have already remarked that it is not likely that Eadweard II would have issued in his reign of two years and eight months more than one type of coinage, as the normal duration of a type was at this period three years. It is also matter for remark and inference that no coin of this alleged type is recorded to have been found in any of the hoards of coins of Æthelræd II discovered either in this country or abroad, but its absence from the hoard of coins of Eadgar, Eadweard II and Æthelræd II found at Chester in August, 1914, is very strong presumptive evidence against the authenticity of the specimen in the National Collection. An account of this hoard is given by Mr. G. F. Hill in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1920. From this it appears that the hoard comprised the following coins :—

Eadgar, Hildebrand C2 ; British Museum Catalogue,	
type vi	24
Eadweard II, Hildebrand A ; British Museum	
Catalogue, type i	52

Æthelræd II, type I of my classification	.. ..	33
Æthelræd II, mules of types I-II of my classification		3
Æthelræd II, type II of my classification	.. ..	8

In addition to these the hoard contained a penny of Stamford of either Eadgar, Hildebrand C2, or of Eadweard II, Hildebrand A, and a penny of Canterbury of Æthelræd II, described by Mr. Hill as "Type I variety; not in the British Museum or Hildebrand." To this last I will refer later in its proper place.

Appended is a list of the known mints of Eadweard II.

The Mints of Eadweard II.

Bath	Guildford ²	Rochester ²
Bedford	Hertford	Southampton ³
Buckingham	Ipswich	Stamford
Bury St. Edmunds ¹	Lewes	Tamworth
Cambridge	Lincoln	Thetford
Canterbury	London	Totnes
Chester	Lydford	Warwick
Derby	Lymne	Wilton
Exeter	Norwich	Winchester
Gloucester	Oxford	York

ÆTHELRÆD II, A.D. 978-1016.

Æthelræd II, commonly called the Unready, or "The Redeless," succeeded his half-brother Eadweard II on the 18th of March, 978, and continued to occupy an uneasy throne until the winter of 1013 when Swegen, King of Denmark, obtained the government until his death on the 3rd of February, 1014. On the decease of Swegen his son Cnut was elected king of England by the Danes, but Æthelræd II was restored to power. Upon the happening of this event there was a contest between Æthelræd II's son, Eadmund II,

¹ Ruding.

² Chester hoard.

³ or Northampton.

commonly called Ironside, on the part of the English, and Cnut, son of Swegen, on the part of the Danes. This struggle continued after Æthelræd's death until November, 1016, when, by treaty between Eadmund and Cnut, the former received Wessex, and the latter Mercia and Northumbria. Eadmund, however, was assassinated on the 30th of November, 1016, whereupon Cnut became king of all England.

From the date of Æthelræd's succession on the 18th of March, 978, to the date of his death on the 23rd of April, 1016, there is a period of a little over thirty-eight years, without deduction of the time occupied by his temporary deposition and flight to Normandy. A study of the number of the substantive types of the coinage of the later Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish kings leads me to the general conclusion that the normal time for the issue of each was a term of three years, and that the commencement of that term was Michaelmas, which marked the close and beginning of the financial, or, in later days, the Exchequer year.

If we apply this rule to the case of Æthelræd II's reign of thirty-eight years we should expect to find that there were thirteen substantive types of his coins, and there are in fact that number.

THE COINS OF ÆTHELRÆD II.

TYPE I.—Included in Hildebrand's type A, and in the British Museum Catalogue, type i.

Note.—The specimen selected by Hildebrand for illustration is of type X of my present arrangement.

Obverse.—Bust of the king turned to the spectator's left, filleted, within a plain inner circle surrounded by his name and title; all within an outer dotted circle.

Reverse.—A small cross pattée within a plain inner circle, which is surrounded by the names of the moneyer and mint, within an outer dotted circle.

This issue was, in effect, a reproduction of the sole type of Eadweard II, which it so closely resembles that, without deciphering

the name of the king, specimens of it would be mistaken for coins of Eadweard.

Like those of Eadweard II, the coins of this type nearly always give a lengthy rendering of the word *Anglorum*, usually ANGLOV . In like manner the names of the moneyer and mint are separated by the contraction M-O , for *monetario*, in the form, with few exceptions, customary on the reverses of Eadweard II's pennies. In a few instances M-O is rendered N-O through a die-sinker's error. As Hildebrand recognized such a point of custom has some bearing upon the determination of the order of the types of the coinages, and it is of particular importance in regard to the separation into distinct types of the several issues which are now classed together as type A of Hildebrand's arrangement.

This is a matter not easy of accomplishment in the absence of an inspection of the actual coins, and it is made less easy by reason of the fact that innovations in form were not speedily adopted in northern mints such as Lincoln and York. At these, and perhaps also at other mints, old dies seem to have been used whenever the moneyers were able to avail themselves of them without any great danger of detection, so that probably many unsuspected mule coins help to deter the disentanglement of the various issues comprised in type A.

Hildebrand, on page 29 of the 1881 edition of his work, repeats a remark made in the edition of 1846, page 23, in reference to type A.

"The type appears to have been in continuous use, together with the later ones, during the whole of King Æthelræd's reign, in consequence of which the coin has varied much in regard to size, weight and inscription."

Such a view may well have been in accord with the knowledge of numismatics which had been attained in 1846 and even in 1881, but it does not accord with the ideas now generally entertained and accepted.

As has already been remarked, Hildebrand does not appear to have recognized the existence of mule coins as such, nor do his words

“*in continuous use together with the later ones*” admit of the construction that he intended to convey the idea of several intermittent issues of coins of a similar type.

The coins illustrated by him as type A, varieties C and D, I regard as local varieties of types I, VII and X of my arrangement, to be assorted according to their reverse inscriptions. Of these, together, 19 varying specimens are recorded, the mints represented being Colchester, Ipswich, Stamford and Thetford. The variation from the substantive type consists of the addition of four smaller crosses pattées placed around the central cross pattée of the reverse design.

Hildebrand B_I, variety a, is a mule of obverse type I with reverse type II, and examples of it emanating from the mints at Canterbury, Chester, Southampton,¹ Hereford and Shrewsbury are known to us.

TYPE II.—Hildebrand’s type B_I, British Museum Catalogue, type ii, variety a.

Obverse.—Bust to the right, filleted. The folds of the drapery are in rounded curves. Around, inscription between two circles.

Reverse.—Hand of Providence issuing from clouds and pointing downwards ; on either side $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$; around, inscription between two circles.

The abbreviation M-O is almost invariably used, but the form MONETA occurs in two or three cases, and that of M=O not quite so rarely.

Hildebrand records 291 varying specimens of this type, his type B_I, occurring at in all 40 different mints, so I have thought it reasonable to regard this as the second substantive type of the reign, rather than to follow the compilers of Volume II of the British Museum Catalogue who have adopted the rare mule, Hildebrand B_I, variety a, as type ii of their classification.

¹ “ Hamwic.”

There are, however, included in Hildebrand's type B₁ many examples having the general characteristics of his illustration B₁, variety c, except that the letters $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$ are normally placed. These, I think, represent a later issue of dies, but do not constitute a separate type. On the obverse, the central portion of the drapery is shown in V-shaped folds, instead of in rounded curves, while on the reverse the hand issues from a sleeve, like that of a bishop, instead of from "clouds." Of this later issue of Type II, I had specimens struck at Bedford, Chester, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Norwich and Thetford. Also there are coins of the York mint composed of the obverse of the earlier issue of dies showing the drapery in rounded curves, and the reverse of the later issue with sleeve in lieu of clouds.

Hildebrand B₁, variety c, is a variety of the second issue of my type II, whereon the letters π , ω are placed in the reverse order ω , π . Specimens struck at Cambridge, Ipswich and Norwich are recorded by him, and coins of this variety of the two lastly mentioned mints were included in the Ipswich hoard.

Sometimes an annulet, a small cross, or a pellet, is placed in the centre of the "clouds." I had a Derby coin with the first, and coins of Canterbury, Gloucester, London, and Tamworth, with the third of these minor variations.

TYPE III.—Hildebrand, type B₂. British Museum Catalogue, type ii, variety d.

Obverse.—Bust to the right, filleted. The folds of the drapery are in rounded curves. In front of the bust a sceptre pommée. Around, inscription between two circles.

Reverse.—Hand of Providence issuing from clouds, on either side of which are lines curving outwards, between $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$ beneath each of which is a pellet; around, inscription between two circles.

The abbreviation M-O is almost invariably used, but M $\bar{\omega}$ O occurs occasionally.

Of this type Hildebrand records 192 varying specimens coined at 32 different mints, so again I do not hesitate to regard this as a substantive type, and to disregard the British Museum classification of it as a "variety."

Hildebrand, type B₂, variety a, is a mere variety of type II, the $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$ and their pellets being in this case omitted. This is type ii variety c, of the British Museum Catalogue. There is only one specimen known and that is of the Chester mint. The variation is probably due to the carelessness of the die-sinker. The coin is of barbarous work, indicating local preparation of the dies.

Hildebrand, type B₁, variety d, British Museum Catalogue, type ii, variety c, is a mule of the obverse of type III and the reverse of the later issue of type II of my arrangement. One specimen only, of the Ipswich mint, is known to us, and this may be regarded as due to the use by the moneyer of a reverse die of type II, which is very like that of type III.

TYPE IV.—Hildebrand, type B₃. British Museum Catalogue, type ii, variety f.

This, to a great extent, resembles types II and III, but the head of the king is not filleted and the sceptre is surmounted by a cross pattée. On the reverse the Hand of Providence is represented in Benediction, namely, with the third and fourth fingers closed. The letter $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$ are absent. A small cross pattée is placed in the centre of the "clouds." The form M-O is almost invariably used.

Specimens of this type are much rarer than those of its two immediate predecessors. Hildebrand records 36 varying specimens, representing in all thirteen mints. To these I can add Gloucester and Shrewsbury from specimens formerly in my own collection, and Ruding, plate 22, figure 15, adds Worcester, and plate D, figure 37, Lewes, to the list. It is not unlikely that other mints are represented, but as we here have, without an exhaustive search, a total

of 17 mints from which this type emanated, we may with safety regard this as substantive type, and not as a variety.

Hildebrand, type C, variety c, is a mule of obverse type III and reverse type V of my arrangement. Hildebrand records specimens struck at Lincoln, London, Lydford and Winchester.

Hildebrand, type C, variety d, is a mule of obverse type IV and reverse type V. It occurs of the Barnstaple, Norwich and York mints.

TYPE V.—Hildebrand, type C, variety b. British Museum Catalogue, type iii.

Obverse.—Draped bust to the left, filleted. Around, inscription between two circles. Similar to type I.

Reverse.—Short cross voided, generally with a pellet in the centre; in the angles $\square RVX$ commencing in the second heraldic quarter. Around, inscription between two circles.

The form M-O continues in general use, but M^{no}O is sometimes substituted for it.

Hildebrand records 23 varying specimens of this type, the mints represented being

Exeter	Wareham	Winchester
Hereford	Wilton	York
London		

TYPE VI.—Hildebrand, type C. British Museum Catalogue, type iii, variety a.

Obverse.—Draped bust to the left, without the fillet; in front, sceptre pommée; around, inscription between two circles.

Reverse.—The same as that of type V.

The full form **ANGLOW** is continued to be generally employed on the obverse of this issue, and the abbreviation **M-O** on the reverse, but the forms **M^oO**, **M⁷O** and other forms sometimes occur.

Of this substantive type Hildebrand records so many as 790 different specimens, assigned to 55 mints. His type C, variety a, represents a later and separate issue of dies, and he records 78 differing specimens of it attributed to in all 14 mints. The coins are of smaller module, the workmanship is of a neater character and the first letter of the word **CRUX** is sometimes placed in the first heraldic quarter of the voided cross, instead of in the second.

I disagree with the classification of the British Museum officials of this very common substantive type—type VI—as a mere “variety” of a type.

Hildebrand, type A, variety b, is a mule of the obverse of type VI and the reverse of type VII. He records 13 varying specimens, the mints represented being Lincoln, Lymne and York. To these I can add Porimen, for Warminster, from a coin formerly in my own collection.

The Canterbury coin referred to by Mr. Hill in his account of the Chester hoard as a variety of British Museum Catalogue type i not in the British Museum or Hildebrand, is a mule of types VI and VII of my arrangement, but differing from Hildebrand's illustration of type A, variety b, in having a pellet off the end of each arm of the small central cross. I think it very unlikely that this coin formed part of the hoard, but that it was included from another source by one of the gentlemen who used their best endeavours to collect from all sources the coins comprised in the find. The facts as narrated by Mr. Hill fully cover the likelihood of such an accidental inclusion.

TYPE VII.—Included in Hildebrand's type A, and in the British Museum Catalogue, type i.

This issue is of the same general design as type I, and, as regards the obverse, type V, but a shorter rendering of the

C

word *ANGLORVM* is usually adopted, and on the reverse the forms *M·O*, *M-O*, *M^oO* are used, instead of the earlier form *M-O*, which, however, appears to have been in rare instances retained at the Northern mints.

TYPE VIII.—Hildebrand, type G. British Museum Catalogue, type x.

This type has on the obverse the *Agnus Dei* to right ; below are the letters *AN* or *AN* within a dotted compartment. Around, are the name and title of the king. There is no inner circle, but, as is usual, an outer dotted circle completes the design.

On the reverse is represented the Holy Dove. Around are the names of the moneyer and mint, occasionally the intermediate particle *ON*, signifying at, is introduced. There is no inner circle, but the usual dotted outer circle completes the design.

Hildebrand on page 32 refers to specimens of this type struck at Hereford, Malmesbury, Nottingham, Southampton, Stafford and Stamford. A fine specimen of the Derby mint, dug up in Gracechurch Street, London, formerly in the collection of the late Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, was in my own collection ; so the list of mints known to us is as follows :—

Derby	Nottingham	Stafford
Hereford	Southampton	Stamford
Malmesbury		

A broken coin of this type of the Malmesbury mint formed lot 298 at the Rashleigh Sale ; and would appear to resemble No. 3086 of Hildebrand, but it is remarkable in that it discloses the letter *o* of the word *ON*, but the letter *N* and the first two letters of the mint-name are broken out of the coin. The coins of Hereford and Stafford recorded by Hildebrand also have the word *ON*.

Hildebrand, type G, variety a, is classed by the compilers of

the British Museum Catalogue as a type of itself, namely, type xi, but the only specimen known of it is a cut half-penny, probably of Stamford. It is a mule of the obverse of type VIII and the reverse of type X.

The presence of this officially issued cut half-penny shows conclusively that type VIII was issued and used as a current coin of the realm and not, as has been suggested, as a medal, ornament, or commemorative issue. Finally, if this type was not current coin in England, why was it imitated for currency in Ireland? I need instance only the coin, formerly in my collection, illustrated as number 182, and a second in the British Museum, illustrated as number 183, in the careful monograph by the late Mr. Bernard Roth, F.S.A., "The Coins of the Danish Kings of Ireland," in volume vi of this *Journal*, as ample evidence of this fact.

According to my schemes of arrangement and computation, the dies for type VIII were issued about Michaelmas 999 and the unusual and markedly sacred character of the designs of both obverse and reverse would seem to have relation to the nearly approaching year of 1000 A.D., when it was then generally believed that the second coming of Christ might be expected to take place.

TYPE IX.—Hildebrand, type E, variety c. British Museum Catalogue, type vii.

Obverse.—Bust to the left in armour and radiate helmet. Around, inscription divided by the bust: an outer circle.

Reverse.—Long cross voided extending to the edge of the coin; pellet in the centre; in the angles \square RVX, commencing in the second heraldic quarter. Around, inscription; an outer circle.

Of this issue only two specimens are recorded by Hildebrand. They are of the Bath and Salisbury mints respectively.

C 2

Hildebrand, type E, variety a, represents a mule with the obverse of type IX and the reverse of type X. He records only one specimen struck at Worcester. I had another, struck at Lincoln, whereon the inner circle is omitted from the reverse.

It will perhaps be objected that the paucity of specimens preserved to us presents a reason for not regarding this type, and its predecessor, type VIII as substantive types of the coinage of Æthelræd II. I can only reply that such matters depend upon the accident of discovery. At one time, prior to the Beaworth find, the *pax* type of William I, type VIII of his money, was so rare that a specimen which happened to have been struck at Exeter, was regarded as a local issue commemorative of the truce between the King and the Citizens after his capture of the City.¹ Again, the specimens of some of the types of Henry I are so rare that they may be counted on the fingers of one or both hands.

Much has been made of the finding of hoards, principally of the money of Æthelræd II and Cnut, in Sweden and around the shores of the Baltic, and connexion between these comparatively insignificant hoards and the huge sums paid to the Danes has been inferred. Down to 1881 Hildebrand, in his preface, gives the numbers of coins discovered as follows :—

Æthelræd II	..	..	..	..	..	4389
Cnut	..	..	..	..	..	3904
						8293

If we double these, and allow a liberal margin, we have only a total of under 20,000 coins for the two reigns together.

Now the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the payment of tribute to the Danes during Æthelræd's reign of 130,000 pounds. The words "of silver" are not used, so the inference is that the payments were in coined money. To make these 32,880,000 pennies would be required. Then, again, in A.D. 1018, under Cnut, a tribute of 72,000 pounds was levied in addition to 10,500 pounds contributed

¹ "Ruding," vol. II, p. 302, note 6.

by London. To effect these payments in coin 19,800,000 pennies were requisite. We thus have recorded payments under Æthelræd and Cnut requiring 52,680,000 coins, and it cannot be supposed that these represented anything like the total number issued. How small a total of coins 20,000 specimens appears in connection with these millions ! Can we therefore reasonably continue to be surprised that when so few coins have been found some of the types represented may be of extreme rarity ?

It is not improbable that the hoards discovered in Sweden represent moneys paid to or taken by Danes and other Northmen, possibly traders, possibly mercantile sailors or even marauders. The point is that the total number of coins of this period discovered in all the hoards of the kind, is insignificant when it is compared with the number required to make those payments only of which we have a record in history. I do not suggest that large payments in coins of types VIII and IX may not have been made. Hoards comprising all or any of them may have been concealed. The only accident is that they have not yet been unearthed, but, having regard to the figures and facts quoted above, time and further discoveries may well be expected to remedy the present lack of specimens.

In connection with the question of the number of coins issued it may be of interest to note the quantities of sixpences coined during the pre-war years 1907, 1908 and 1909 and the averages of pieces struck per pair of dies, and I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Hocking, C.B.E., of the Royal Mint, for the following figures :—

Year.	Total struck.				Average per pair of dies.	
1907	8,884,479	..	..	89,742
1908	6,892,951	..	..	98,471
1909	6,688,929	..	..	101,347

I selected the sixpence as a case for comparison as being the nearest modern silver coin in diameter to the silver penny of the Anglo-Saxon period. It must, however, not be forgotten that the

weight of silver in the sixpence of to-day is twice that in an Anglo-Saxon penny, and that this gives a great advantage to the dies for sixpences in point of endurance. The difference in the methods of striking has also to be taken into account. Hildebrand alone records 4523 varying coins of Æthelræd II and 3953 of Cnut. As it was, I believe, the custom to supply two reverse dies to each obverse die issued to the moneyer, and as our existing specimens of coins show us that the moneyers working at the same mint not infrequently interchanged their dies, a critical and minute examination of all the specimens noted would have to be made to arrive at the exact number of pairs of dies that these specimens disclose to have been in use.

If, however, we take two-thirds of the total of 8476, that is, 5650, as representing the number of pairs of dies, and take the moderate estimate of 10,000 as the number of coins produced by each pair, we find that the 8476 coins recorded by Hildebrand point to a total issue of not less than 56,500,000 pennies. These figures are, of course, only very roughly approximate, but they afford some confirmation and illustration of the truth of the payments to the Danes recorded by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and give support to the suggestion that they were made in coined money.

For the Anglo-Saxon period there are, unfortunately, no records which disclose the number of pennies struck in any reign or year, but the following figures from the mint accounts, which have been furnished by Mr. Shirley Fox, show the amount of silver in pounds Tower coined during certain years of the reign of Henry III at London and Canterbury. From these figures I have calculated respectively, on the basis of 240 pennies to each pound Tower, the number of pennies which were struck.

The last five years of issue of the short-cross coinage, 1243 to 1247, and five consecutive years of issue of the long-cross money, 1261-1265, have been selected as sufficient for illustration :—

SHORT-CROSS PENNIES.

Year.	London. Pounds Tower.	Canterbury. Pounds Tower.	Number of Pennies Struck.
1243	23,128	16,797	9,582,000
1244	37,623	34,827	17,388,000
1245	29,252	18,874	11,550,240
1246	24,713	28,373	12,740,640
1247	38,663	27,975	15,993,120
5 years.	153,379	126,846	67,254,000

LONG-CROSS PENNIES.

Year.	London. Pounds Tower.	Canterbury. Pounds Tower.	Number of Pennies Struck.
1261	{ 26,524 23,907 }	{ 31,374 36,459 }	28,383,360
1262	2,139	634	665,520
1263	26,163	24,008	12,041,040
1264	{ 34,621 6,558 }	{ 18,081 813 }	14,417,520
1265	{ 5,389 16,933 }	{ 14,752 }	8,897,760
5 years.	142,234	126,121	64,405,200

I will add one example from the reign of Edward I. From September, 1306, to September, 1307, no fewer than 106,830 pounds Tower were issued at London alone, producing 25,639,200 pennies.

Although there is a difference of some 250 years in period between the date of these issues and the reign of Æthelræd II, I claim that the figures given above throw a strong light upon the earlier period and afford ample confirmation of the views and figures I have ventured to state in regard to the vast quantity of money coined under Æthelræd II and Cnut.

TYPE X.—Included in Hildebrand's type A, and in the British Museum Catalogue, type i.

This issue is of the same general design as types I and VII, and, in the absence of an examination of the coins recorded by Hildebrand, it is difficult to define in words which specimens belong to type VII and which to type X.

The forms M·O, M·ON, M-O, M^oO, M^oON, etc., which also appear in types XI and XII, are largely in evidence and the word ON alone is of very frequent occurrence.

Hildebrand, type D, variety a, is a mule composed of the obverse of type X and the reverse of type XII. He records three examples of it and they are of the Canterbury, Norwich and Winchester mints. I am able to add two further examples formerly in my collection. The legends of the reverse are not well defined, but one of them discloses the Lincoln mint and I think that the other denotes Shrewsbury. This rare mule forms type iv of the British Museum classification.

TYPE XI.—Hildebrand, type E. British Museum Catalogue, type viii.

Obverse.—Similar to that of type IX.

Reverse.—Quadrilateral ornament with incurved sides and three pellets at each corner; over it, bisecting the sides, a long cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; pellet in the centre; around, inscription, and outer circle.

The forms M^oO and M^o are most frequent of occurrence, but other forms are used.

Hildebrand records 524 varying specimens of this type, allocated to 51 different mints.

His type E, variety b, is a mule of the obverse of my type XI and the reverse of type XII. Two specimens of it are recorded by him of the Lincoln and Wallingford mints respectively.

I possessed a specimen, believed to be unique, having the obverse of type XII and the reverse of type XI. Although of good workmanship the inscription of the reverse is not intelligible, so this irregular mule must be regarded as an illicit piece copied by Danes or Hiberno-Danes from coins of Æthelræd II.

TYPE XII.—Hildebrand, type D. British Museum Catalogue,
type iv, variety a.

Obverse.—Bust to left, no fillet or diadem, the hair is stiffly brushed up and resembles a comb or helmet; inscription, not divided by bust, and outer circle.

Reverse.—Long cross voided, generally with a pellet in the centre, each limb terminating in three crescents; around, inscription, and outer circle.

This design is similar to that of the reverse of type XI, except that the quadrilateral ornament is absent.

The forms M^oO, M[•]O, MO are usual, but other varieties occur.

Hildebrand records 940 varying specimens of this type, assigned to no fewer than 68 different mints, so I may perhaps be excused for dissenting from the views of the compilers of the British Museum Catalogue who have classified this substantive type as a mere variety of the very scarce mule Hildebrand D, variety a, which they regard as the substantive type, type iv of their arrangement.

Hildebrand, type A, variety c, of which he records three specimens, all of the London mint, is a mule of a variety of type XII having an inner circle on the obverse. The specimen illustrated by Hildebrand also shows a further variation in that the obverse inscription begins at the top of the coin and is divided by the bust. The reverse is of type XIII. This variety forms type i, variety d, of the British Museum Catalogue.

Hildebrand, type A, variety f, is a mule of the obverse of type XII and reverse of type XIII. It forms type i, variety e, of the British Museum Catalogue.

Hildebrand records three specimens of it, two of London and one of Wilton. To these I can add from my former collection two more specimens, one of London and the other of Dublin.

TYPE XIII.—Hildebrand, type A, variety a. British Museum Catalogue, type i, variety a.

The designs of the obverse and reverse of this issue resemble those of types I, VII and X, except that the bust of the king is represented as turned to the spectator's right instead of to his left. On the reverse the forms M^oO, M^oON, M^oON, and ON occur.

Hildebrand records eight varying examples of this type, the mints represented being Canterbury, Dover and Thetford.

I regard Hildebrand type F, and type F, variety a, as foreign pieces struck at Lunde in Scania, and only one variety of each is recorded by him.

It is hoped that the following tables, A, B, C and D, may be of use to the reader for reference and for the purposes of study.

TABLE A, SHOWING THE SEQUENCE OF AND THE NAMES SUGGESTED FOR THE SUBSTANTIVE TYPES OF ÆTHELRÆD II AND THEIR PERIODS OF ISSUE.

Number and name of type.	Hildebrand's reference.	British Museum reference.	Period of issue.
I. 1st small-cross type ..	Included in A	Type i	18th March, 978, to 29th Sept., 981.
II. 1st Hand type ..	B1	Type ii, variety a	29th Sept., 981, to 29th Sept., 984.
III. 2nd Hand type ..	B2	Type ii, variety d	29th Sept., 984, to 29th Sept., 987.
IV. Benediction type ..	B3	Type ii, variety f	29th Sept., 987, to 29th Sept., 990.
V. 1st <i>Crux</i> type ..	C, variety b	Type iii	29th Sept., 990, to 29th Sept., 993.
VI. 2nd <i>Crux</i> type ..	C and C, variety a	Type iii, variety a	29th Sept., 993, to 29th Sept., 996.
VII. 2nd small-cross type ..	Included in A	Included in type i	29th Sept., 996, to 29th Sept., 999.
VIII. <i>Agnus Dei</i> type ..	G	Type x	29th Sept., 999, to 29th Sept., 1002.
IX. Helmet <i>Crux</i> type ..	E, variety c	Type vii	29th Sept., 1002, to 29th Sept., 1005.
X. 3rd small-cross type ..	Included in A	Included in type i	29th Sept., 1005, to 29th Sept., 1008.
XI. Helmet long-cross type	E	Type viii	29th Sept., 1008, to 29th Sept., 1011.
XII. Bare-headed long-cross type.	D	Type iv, variety a	29th Sept., 1011, to 29th Sept., 1014.
XIII. 4th small-cross type, bust to right.	A, variety a	Type i, variety a	29th Sept., 1014, to 23rd April, 1016.

TABLE B, SHOWING THE NAMES OF THE MINTS UNDER ÆTHELRÆD II AND THE SUBSTANTIVE TYPES AND MULE COINS KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN ISSUED AT THEM RESPECTIVELY.

Mint.	I.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	VIII.	IX.	IX.	X.	XI.	XI.	XII.	XII.	XIII.	XIII.
Aylesbury	×																					
Barnstaple																						
Bath ..																						
Bedford																						
Bridport																						
Bristol																						
Buckingham																						
Cadbury																						
Cambridge																						
Canterbury																						
Chester																						
Chichester																						
Corbridge																						
Crewkerne																						
Cricklade																						
Derby																						
Dorchester in																						
Dorset																						
Dover																						
Dublin																						
Dunwich																						
Exeter																						
Gloucester																						
Guildford																						
Hamwic																						
Hastings																						
Hereford																						
Hertford																						
Huntingdon																						
Ichester																						
Ipswich																						
Islip ..																						
Launceston																						

Leicester	..
Lewes	..
Lincoln	..
London	..
Lydford	..
Lymne	..
Maldon	..
Malmesbury	..
Milborne Port	..
Newark	..
Norwich	..
Nottingham	..
Oxford	..
Rochester	..
Romney	..
Salisbury	..
Shaftesbury	..
Shrewsbury	..
Sidbury	..
Sidmouth	..
Southampton	..
Southwark	..
Stafford	..
Stamford	..
Sudbury	..
Tanworth	..
Taunton	..
Thetford	..
Torksey	..
Totnes	..
Wallingford	..
Wareham	..
Warminster	..
Warwick	..
Watchet	..
Wilton	..
Winchcombe	..
Winchester	..
Worcester	..
York	..
Ythancaestir	..

The coins attributed by Hildebrand and others to Bridgenorth have recently been assigned to Bridport, and those attributed by Hildebrand to Harwich have been given to Southampton. See Notes by Mr. L. Woosnam in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1921, pages 92-99.

The latter attribution gives point to the long-existing question as to whether the coins bearing the place-name HAMTVNE and its variants should not be transferred from Southampton to Northampton. I confess that I am of that opinion.

TABLE C, SHOWING THE MINTS AT WHICH COINS OF EADGAR'S LAST TYPE, OF EADWEARD II AND OF ÆTHELRÆD II'S FIRST TYPE ARE KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN STRUCK.

Mints.	Eadgar.	Eadweard II.	Æthelræd II.	Mints.	Eadgar.	Eadweard II.	Æthelræd II.
Barnstaple	—	—	×	Lydford	—	×	—
Bath	×	×	—	Lymne	×	×	—
Bedford	×	×	×	Maldon	×	—	—
Buckingham	—	×	—	Malmesbury	—	—	×
Bury St. Edmunds	—	×	—	Norwich	×	×	×
Cambridge	×	×	×	Nottingham	—	—	×
Canterbury	×	×	×	Oxford	×	×	—
Chester	×	×	×	Rochester	×	×	—
Chichester	×	—	—	Shaftesbury	×	—	—
Derby	×	×	×	Shrewsbury	×	—	—
Dover	×	—	—	Southampton	×	×	×
Dublin	—	—	×	Stafford	×	—	—
Dunwich	—	—	×	Stamford	×	×	×
Exeter	×	×	×	Tamworth	—	×	×
Gloucester	×	×	×	Thetford	×	×	×
Guildford	—	×	—	Torksey	—	—	×
Hereford	×	—	—	Totnes	×	×	×
Hertford	—	×	—	Wallingford	×	—	—
Huntingdon	—	—	×	Wareham	×	—	—
Ilchester	×	—	×	Warwick	—	×	—
Ipswich	×	×	×	Wilton	×	×	×
Islip	—	—	×	Winchcombe	×	—	—
Leicester	×	—	×	Winchester	×	×	×
Lewes	×	×	×	Worcester	—	—	×
Lincoln	×	×	×	York	×	×	×
London	×	×	×				

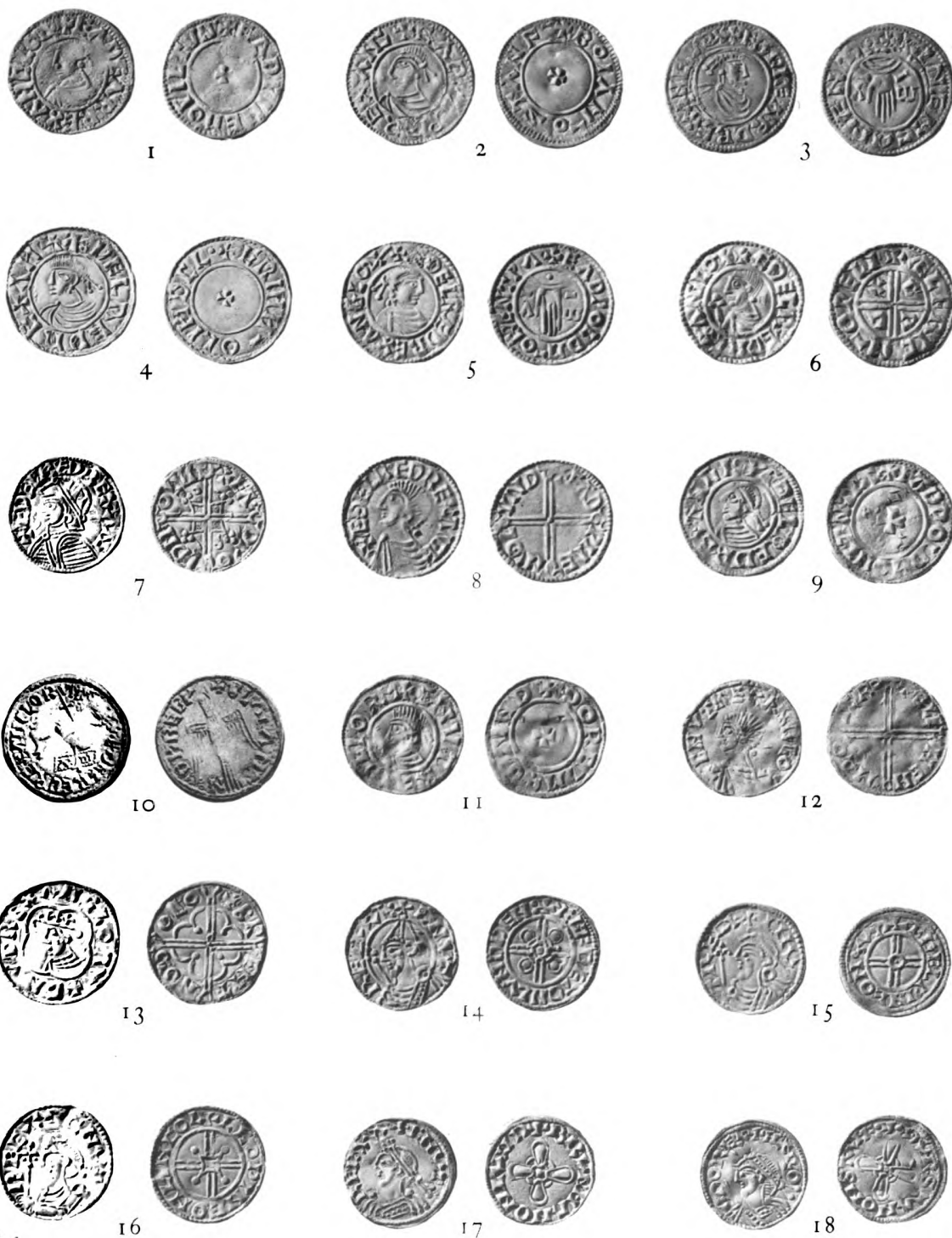
TABLE D, SHOWING THE PERIODS OF USER OF THE FORM M-O AND ITS VARIANTS AND OF THE FORM ON FROM THE LAST TYPE OF EADGAR TO THE LAST OF ÆTHELRÆD II.

Reign.	Type.	Usual forms.	Exceptional forms.
Eadgar ...	Last type Hild. C2	M-O	MONETA, M̄, M-ON, M̄N, M-O, M·O, -O
Eadweard II	I	M-O	META-O, M-ON, M-O
	II	M-O	
Æthelræd II	I	M-O	N-O, M-O, MOT,
	II	M-O	MONETA, M-OTO, M-O, M-ON, M̄O, -O,
	III	M-O	-O, M-O,
	IV	M-O	M-
	V	M-O	M ^o O, N-O,
	VI	M-O	M-O, M-OO, -O, M ^o O; MO·ON and M-O ON, at Oxford only.
	VII	M-O, M-O, M ^o O, MON,	M-ON, M ^o ON,
	VIII	ON or blank	
	IX	M ^o O and M ^o O	Only two specimens known.
	X	ON	Many variants.
	XI	M ^o O, M ^o O, M·O, MO	M-O, M ^o O, M- : O
	XII	M ^o O, M ^o O, M ^o O, MO	M-O, M·O, M ^o O, °O.
	XIII	ON, M-O, M ^o ON, M-ON	

In reference to the above table of forms, it will be noticed that the form M-O is nearly constant throughout the issue of types I to VI. In type VI the word ON occurs after M-O and MO at Oxford only. This word also occurs upon specimens of type VII and VIII. In type X ON comes into general use, but a reversion to the older word *monetario*, with a difference in its forms of representation, occurs in types XI and XII.

If the coinages of Cnut be examined it will be seen that, although the form ON has then become of general use, the forms of *monetario* in use upon coins of types XI and XII of Æthelræd II are of frequent occurrence, and that older forms are still occasionally met with.





TYPES OF LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINS ETC.

Plate 1

REMARKS ON HOARDS OF LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINS.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

IN the first two sections of my monograph on the coins of the late Saxon period, that is, those relating to the coins of Harold I, and Harthacnut,¹ I expressed the opinion that hoards of coins of those kings were of little primary value in determining the sequence of the types, an opinion which extends also to the other reigns of the period although to a more qualified degree. In view of the comparatively high esteem in which such evidence has in the past been held as criteria for determining the run of the types, it will perhaps not be inopportune to offer some reasons for forming the present estimate of its value in this connection, at least so far as the late Saxon period is concerned, to indicate some of the points on which such evidence is useful, and to treat the matter in its historical aspect. These points of view can better be dealt with in the form of a separate treatise than by making a digression in any one paper on the coins of the monarchs who reigned in the period in question—a period which extends from the latter part of the reign of Eadgar to that of Harold II inclusive.

It is a matter for remark that not only do the designs and general treatment of the coins of the Anglo-Saxons show a marked line of cleavage at the beginning of this period,² but the composition and provenance of the hoards of coins also sharply divide at the same point. It is, indeed, rare for coins of Eadgar's last type and the subsequent issues to be found with those of the earlier period ; and finds of the later period show an almost entire lack of coins of the

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, xi and xv.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, xiii, p. 1.

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earlier era. This evidence shows that a general change of tender was made at this point, and that all the coins previously in circulation were withdrawn. The significance of a passage in the early chronicles, commencing with that of Roger of Wendover, which states that, in A.D. 975, a general re-coinage was instituted—one of the very few references to the Anglo-Saxon coinage in the chronicles²—must therefore, I think, be interpreted not only in the restricted sense that a new issue was made, but also as meaning that all the moneys in circulation were then withdrawn.

The find-areas of the two periods also markedly vary from each other. In the earlier period the greatest number of hoards occur in Ireland and the Western Isles. In the later period the main hoards are found in Scandinavia and the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. It is not necessary in this paper to elaborate the historical reasons for these phenomena. They are clear to those who know the history of the time. But it may be remarked that they support the evidence of the coins themselves, which show that the end of Eadgar's reign marks something of a revolution in the currency of this country, a revolution which justifies a division between early and late Saxon coins. The two plates show a complete set of types of the money of this late Saxon period.

In the very nature of the case finds of coins must be treated with caution, for so many complicating factors may have contributed to their secretion. In the early times, before banks were thought of, mother earth was the principal reservoir in which valuables of the size and composition of coins were deposited, and a little thought will show what possibilities of confusion to the present-day antiquary arise in regard to the circumstances surrounding the burial of an ancient treasure. For example, if a find represents the hoard of coins of an individual of careful habits and of a saving nature, who added to his treasure from time to time in irregular quantities, or if it represented an accumulation not merely added to but also extracted from at intervals, it will readily be seen of what little value the coins as a whole would be as criteria for determining the run of the types. Again, a hoard might represent an accumulation

of coins of two or more periods separated by intervals of time sufficient to miss a contribution of coins of one or more types, or even reigns.

Further complications arise through our lack of knowledge of the limit of time of tender and, generally speaking, of the impossibility of knowing the length of time after the issue of a type which elapsed prior to the burial of a treasure. As in the present day, so in the early period but more so through difficulties of communication, some considerable interval must necessarily have elapsed before a new type got into general circulation, and if a hoard was secreted shortly after the issue of a new type few coins of that type would be represented, but if the deposit occurred some time after, a considerable number of the last type would be in evidence. Again, there is probably no doubt that for commercial and fiscal reasons some types were less plentifully struck than others, and so, even if a considerable time elapsed between the issue of the last type in a hoard and its burial, that last type might well be represented by fewer coins than some preceding issues in which there was greater minting activity.

In the period of which I am treating this is certainly the case, for there seems no doubt that coins of certain types, as, for instance, those of Harold I and Harthacnut, were minted in far less numbers than coins of earlier types, the large issues of which sufficed for the currency-needs of the people without being supplemented by a big output of coins of Harold I and Harthacnut. And so, in finds, the coins of these monarchs never show a preponderance over all the other types in the hoards. It always happens that some issues, preceding or succeeding, or both, appear in greater numbers, with a result that, if the method of application above referred to were applied, the regnal periods of Harold and Harthacnut would be ante-dated.

In addition to these possibilities of deception, which apply to all periods of our numismatic history, the evidence of finds in the late Saxon era is rendered doubtful to a further degree by reason of the Danish tributes levied on the land and carried out of it; also by the extensive use of English currency as media of exchange in

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Scandinavian countries. It will readily be seen that new and complicated conditions of secretion are set up by these additional factors. For example, if the payment of tribute were greater in one than in another and later type a larger number of coins of an earlier issue might be expected in a Scandinavian find of the time. Over and above all these points there is the cardinal feature, common to nearly all finds, that few are preserved absolutely intact. Human nature, being what it is, even if a find escapes the indignity of a general scramble it is more often than not tampered with at some point of its career to the Treasury, or other authorised body. Broken coins, fragments and cut coins are also frequently thrown away as useless by the uninitiated.

To illustrate the danger of basing arguments for the sequence of the issues on the numbers of coins in each type represented in a hoard, and to show in what way the finds of this period are useful, let us examine in detail some important hoards of the late Saxon period of which a record of the numbers of coins in each type has come down to us. A list of them is annexed. It should be mentioned that in a very large number of hoards known the coins are recorded only in types, or under kings, without reference to the numbers in each type. These are useless for my present remarks. Hence their omission from the Table.

The first hoard on the list is that of Yholm, in Denmark, discovered in 1853. The Anglo-Saxon coins found in it numbered, according to Hauberg,¹ 238, but Mr. Nordman² gives, as will be seen from the list, only 229. On the evidence of the numbers of coins of each type, and following the usual deduction on those numbers, the coins of the long-cross issue, type 4, of Æthelred II, preceded those of the *crux* issue, type 2, a sequence which no writer on this period has so far advocated. Then we have the discrepancy between the numbers. I think it is quite likely that a few of the quatrefoil issue, type 3, were present in this hoard, as was the case in the next find. It is a type of which, with the exception of the

¹ *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark intil 1146*, p. 165.

² *Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland*.

Hand-of-Providence issue, type 1, coins were struck, probably in smaller quantities than in the other issues of the reign, and this would explain the absence of coins of it from the find as recorded.

This view is supported by the details of a hoard discovered in Leissow, Brandenburg. As will be seen from the Table, it contained 6 of Æthelred's Hand type 1; 82 of the *crux* type, 2; 2 of the quatrefoil type, 3; and 16 of the long-cross type, 4. Here again, a test of the sequence of the issues on ordinary lines is deceptive, but allowing, as I think we must allow, for the small output of the quatrefoil type, 3, compared with the great issues of types 2 and 4, and assuming, not unreasonably, that the hoard was secreted early in the time of circulation of type 4 with a resultant small number of that type, it might easily transpire that the sequence was that of my arrangement, namely, 1, 2, 3 and 4, *see* Table of Finds, with note. At least it may be regarded as a fair assumption that if the 2 coins of type 3 really came after the 16 coins of the very common type 4, the latter should have been present in a greater number than the 82 coins of the preceding type 2.

This hoard from Brandenburg is also remarkable by reason of the total absence of specimens of the small-cross issue, although it contained so many as four coins combining the small-cross type with the *crux* issue, type 2. Here is definite evidence that the small-cross issue was not struck simultaneously with the *crux* issue, for otherwise coins of the type would certainly have been in the hoard as well as the very rare mules which, on one side, show that type.

The next find on the list is the Ipswich hoard of 1863. Although it contained specimens of only one type of Æthelred II, namely, the Hand-of-Providence issue, type 1, it is important on the ground of the large number of coins involved. In the absence of a complete list of the moneyers' names, which unfortunately were not recorded, it will be seen that few deductions are possible. One, however, hitherto unnoticed, is of importance. The hoard, although so large, did not contain any specimens of the small-cross type, A in Hildebrand, of Æthelred II, fig. 9, and this negatives Hildebrand's theory that that type was issued concurrently with all other types of the reign.

A similarly constituted hoard from Assartorp, in Scania, is referred to by Mr. Nordman,¹ and a second, also similar except as to difference of type, was discovered in the Isle of Man in 1853. Hildebrand was probably unaware of these finds, and his suggestion was made no doubt solely on the hoards of his own country, Sweden.

The Chancton hoard of 1865 comes next on the list, containing coins solely of Edward the Confessor and Harold II, but including specimens of eight different types of the former king. It was brought to light whilst a hedgerow was in course of removal at Upper Chancton farm, three miles from Storrington, in Sussex, and, prior to the "City" find, to be considered later, it was the most important of the hoards of coins of Edward the Confessor. It very largely helped the National Collection to the acquirement of its present extensive series of coins of that king. In connection with this hoard it should first be observed that a complete record is not available as a scramble took place amongst the labourers on the spot, and many coins were carried away by them. We commence, therefore, with the cardinal weakness of not knowing which types, and how many coins of each, made up the balance of the hoard. In his description of the treasure, however, Mr. Head, late of the British Museum, considered that the bulk, about 1720, found its way to the Government, and subsequently to the Museum. If we can allow that the extractions did not include considerable numbers of the earlier types of the Confessor, the utmost that the number of coins in the types forming this hoard can be said to prove is that types 6 to 11 are, in fact, the last six types. The evidence is weak in regard to the run of these types, for it will be seen that the numbers on record tantalisingly rise and fall with almost all the issues, commencing at No. 6; and the last type of the Confessor is represented by even fewer coins than Harold's issue. Even allowing for extractions, and for Edward's last type being of short duration, the numbers of coins in this find, on their own evidence alone, would have caused

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland.*

us to transpose several of the issues ; but as one of these types was of the later small-cross issue, fig. 32, given by Hildebrand as a variety of the first small-cross issue, fig. 24, Mr. Head was enabled to correct Hildebrand and to relegate the coins in question to the end, instead of placing them at the beginning, of the reign. Its particular place there was not, however, determined by the numbers of coins represented in the types, but by a mule coin connecting it with its preceding type. But for the existence of this mule coin the issue might, quite reasonably, on the score of the number of coins of it represented in the find, have been given a much earlier place in the range of the six types. Indeed, the few overstruck and muled coins in this hoard were, perhaps, its most important feature, and these would have proved their case even if not found in association with the other coins. When we consider what an important find that of Chancton was, second only to the greatest of the hoards of the Confessor's period, the " City " find, it will be seen how meagre and uncertain are the real results obtainable, and how risky it would have been to theorise on the run of the types represented, without the extraneous aid afforded by Hildebrand's initial arrangement, and the presence of overstruck and muled coins.

The City of London hoard, to which reference has already been made, was discovered in 1872, but the exact spot is unknown, for this is a find which did not reach the Treasury, and great secrecy was observed regarding its place of burial.

Attention was first drawn to it in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, new series, volume xvi, by Mr. E. H. Willett, who estimated that over 7000 coins were comprised in the hoard, although only about 2800 were examined by him. Of this number, about 600 were considered illegible and, in addition, several pounds' weight of coins in broken or bad condition were refused by him. The unfortunate effect of this decision by one who intended to write an account of the hoard, is apparent. Subsequently Sir John Evans published, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1885, an account of about 580 varieties which passed into his possession.

From these two records it appears that the coins issued at the time

of the second type of Edward the Confessor and before, as shown in the Table, were in the nature of stray specimens, although the fact that 8 examples of Æthelred II's small-cross type, 5, were found in association with one only of his long-cross type, 4, not only indicates a sequence of those two types, but shows that the main small-cross type of Æthelred II was the last of his reign. The interest of the find undoubtedly belongs to the period from the middle to the end of the reign of Edward the Confessor, a period which synchronizes with that of the coins mainly comprising the Chancton hoard; and the same peculiarity of rise and fall in number obtains. Whatever may be the reason for this, it will at once be seen that no proof of the sequence of the types is obtainable from the published numbers, representing them in this hoard, and the small number of coins of Harold II recorded is a matter for remark. Some old writers had confused Harold II with Harold I. This find, if discovered in their day, would on the evidence of numbers have confirmed them in their erroneous conclusions.

What is further disquieting and mysterious in this hoard is the presence of some half-dozen examples of three early issues of William I. Whilst the reason for the presence of so few of these is unknown, little reliance can be placed on the evidence of the hoard as a whole. Indeed, without extraneous aid almost the only real contribution towards proving the sequence of the types to which it can lay claim is that types 6 to 10 followed each other, but in which order no proof can be deduced from the numbers in the hoard. Neither do the mule coins, of which specimens occurred in the find connecting most of these types, help more than to show that the types followed each other, but in which order they give no real proof. Rather the reverse, for there is a tantalizing example of mule coins between types which, on other grounds, are found not to be in sequence.

The Sedlescombe hoard follows next and, curiously enough, it also was of Edward the Confessor's coins find. It was unearthed by a labourer who was digging a drain in a meadow near the village of Sedlescombe, near Battle in Sussex on the 26th August, 1876,

and some of the coins passed through the hands of Mr. H. S. Gill, who recorded the information that "there was not one of the first five types in which the king appears young and beardless with the bust to the left, but by far the greater part was with Edward's bust to the right, bearded and crowned as Hawkins No. 222." It seems fairly clear from the meagre record of this find that although the number in each type represented is approximate, only types 7 to 10, according to Major Carlyon-Britton's arrangement, inclusive were represented, and the same peculiarity of a rise and fall in the numbers of each type noticeable in the Chancton and City finds, is also in evidence in this hoard, a feature which constitutes a stumbling-block to conclusions regarding the sequence of the issues if dealt with on ordinary lines.

Completing, as it does, the main finds of coins of Edward the Confessor which come within our list, one is almost forced to the conclusion that there were alternate long and short periods of duration of these types. Thus, type 7 was long, type 8 short, type 9 long, and type 10 short. But I should not care to lay too much stress upon this, for taking the Sedlescombe find by itself, with its coincidence of commencing with a change in the way the bust is given and the introduction of a beard, two very cardinal features in the coinages of the Confessor, one would infer that here, if anywhere, there was a change of tender, as well as of type. That this is not the case is however proved by the composition of the Chancton and City finds, with their large number of coins of type 6. It furnishes an illustration of the risk of making deductions on the evidence of one find alone, unless such deductions are supported by other evidence. In fact, from this hoard one can again only make the general statement that types 7 to 10 did in fact come together, but in what particular order no real proof is furnished.

The next hoard in the list is that of Sand, in Norway. It was composed solely of coins of Æthelred II, but, here again on the numbers of coins in it, no reliable deductions as to the sequence of the types can be made, except to show that my types 2, 3, and 4, Hildebrand's C, E, and D, came together. There was, however,

included in the hoard a mule coin made up of the long-cross and small-cross issues, my types 4 and 5, and this in conjunction with the absence of small-cross coins is corroborative evidence that the long-cross type came just before the small-cross type. As one might expect, in that event, the long-cross coins were more numerous than any other types in the hoard, which was probably buried just before the issue of the small-cross type.

In general, a similar hoard is also referred to by Mr. Nordman¹ as from Birglau in West Prussia. Other finds quoted by him, for example those numbered 26 and 32 in his list of finds, tend to prove my sequence on the usual canons of find-deduction ; that is, in each of those finds there is an increasing number of the coins representing Æthelred's types if the latter are placed in the order given by me, but they are irregular in number if placed in a different sequence. On the other hand, there are finds which show irregularity in the numbers in each type when placed in my sequence. The point goes to show the difficulty of applying the evidence of numbers of coins in the finds towards a solution of the order of the types.

The next hoard on the list is that of Isleworth, discovered in the ground of a coach-builder in the Twickenham Road. The coins were buried in a jar of coarse pottery which was broken in pieces in the process of digging it out. The hoard was consequently scattered and few coins reached the Treasury, for only 28 and a few fragments were forwarded to the British Museum for examination. They were described by Mr. H. A. Grueber as of types 1, 2 and 3, but of whose arrangement is not disclosed. They are certainly not Hildebrand's first 3 types, nor what were subsequently given as the first 3 issues in the "British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins," vol. ii, 1893. The hoard would scarcely be worthy of a place here except to correct the descriptions recorded. The first type described by Mr. Grueber comprised coins of the *crux* issue given in the Table as type 2 of the reign. The second type as described by him comprised the rare variety of the Hand-of-Providence issue given in the Table as type 1.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland*, p. 27.

It shows the Hand in Benediction. The third type described by Mr. Grueber comprised pennies of the ordinary Hand-of-Providence issue. In my opinion the Benediction type is simply a variety of the ordinary Hand-of-Providence issue, given in the List as type 1 of Æthelred II. The unusual feature of the find consisted in the presence of 3 out of 5 coins of the Hand-of-Providence type, of the rare variety showing the Hand in Benediction, and on the evidence of this fact by itself one would have erroneously deduced that the Benediction form was the main type. This we know was not the case. Having regard to the fact that probably the bulk of the find escaped expert examination, it will readily be seen that little value can be attached to the report in the way of proving the run of the types; but what slender proof is afforded tends to show that the *crux* type, with 23 coins, succeeded the Hand-of-Providence type, with 5 coins, instead of preceding it as described in the account given in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Further the hoard shows that the small-cross type was not in circulation at the time. A hoard similar to that of Isleworth, and giving evidence of the same character, is detailed in Mr. Nordman's work. It was unearthed at Fänestad in Sweden, and contained 14 specimens of the Hand type 1 of Æthelred II and 83 of the *crux* type 2 to the exclusion of the small-cross type.

The next find on the list is that of Nesbø in Norway, comprising coins of Æthelred II and Canute. Judged by the reverse readings of the small-cross coins in the hoard, which have the late form **ON** between the names of the moneyers and their mints instead of **MO**, all the specimens of this type belong to the last small-cross issue of Æthelred II, when practically all the coins of that type were struck. It will therefore be seen that nearly all the coinages of Æthelred II and the extremely rare *Agnus Dei* commemorative issue, were represented in the hoard, with coins which run to the second real type of Canute. Of this latter king there were in addition, a mule coin of obverse Hildebrand type A, namely, the small-cross issue, fig. 11, with reverse Hildebrand type B, the long-cross issue, fig. 12, and a fragment of Hildebrand type B. Neither of these

issues is regarded by me as a real type of Canute, but both are simply irregular or interim issues to be allocated to the chaotic period from the death of Sweyn in A.D. 1014 to about A.D. 1018, when the country was beginning to be re-established under the strong hand of Canute.

The Nesbø hoard is more satisfactory than those previously dealt with, in so far as its record seems to be complete, and, eliminating the *Agnus Dei*, as a commemorative issue, the irregular issues of Canute, Hildebrand A and B, as not being real types, and the barbarous imitations as not attributable to Britain, it will be observed that there is a fairly satisfactory run of types extending from type 1 of Æthelred II to type 2 of Canute inclusive. But for the fact that the number of coins of type 5 of Æthelred II is less than those of type 4, the find would have been a fairly good example of the old method of deducing that the types of which the larger number of coins occur come last. Unfortunately for this, however, the number represented would force the fourth issue after the third, a change which is negated by almost every other means of deducing the sequence of the types of Æthelred II. The find is, I think, of some value in showing that Hildebrand's suggestion that the small-cross issue of Æthelred II, type 5, was not continued throughout the whole reign concurrently with the other types, for otherwise this issue would have appeared in numbers far in excess of all others of the reign.

The Ryfylke, Norway, find, the next on the list, is also an instance in which a complete record appears to have been secured. Nevertheless, and in marked contrast to the preceding hoard, the numbers of coins in the various Anglo-Saxon types are so erratic that they render the data available almost valueless as criteria for showing the sequence of the types. The period involved is so long, covering all the reigns from Æthelred II to Edward the Confessor, and the numbers of coins in each type so comparatively small, that one is almost inclined to think that this hoard represents a selection by a Norwegian viking from bulk-supplies of coins of late Anglo-Saxon kings, rather than an ordinary deposit of current money. If that is the case it will be seen at once that few deductions of a reliable character can be made from the details of the hoard.

There are just two minor aspects of the find which appear to me to be of some value. They are, firstly, the inference that, in view of the exclusion of type 1 of Æthelred II from the find, the two specimens of the small-cross issue of Æthelred II in evidence do not belong to the beginning of the reign, and that the reverse inscriptions +LEOFRIC MO ON DEO and +LEOFPOLD ON PINCS, of those two coins place them very late indeed in the reign, tending to prove that the main issue of this type came last. Secondly, that the types of Edward the Confessor given in Hildebrand as A to E, corresponding with types 2 to 6, according to Major Carlyon-Britton, were, indeed, the first five types of the reign. As to the order in which they occurred, the hoard discloses only confused and contradictory evidence.

The next find to come under review is that of Stora Sojdeby, situated in the Island of Gothland off the Swedish coast. In general, this hoard covers the same ground as that of Ryfylke, but it is of considerably greater extent, and is especially strong in the coins of Æthelred II and Canute. It also inconsistently and mysteriously includes 3 coins of William II of his first two types, to the exclusion of specimens of all the last four types of Edward the Confessor, that of Harold II, and all those of William I. The presence of the coins of William II, to the exclusion of the types above named, clearly shows that this is a find to which coins had been added after the first deposit, and such a hoard is a very dangerous factor upon which to theorise. Even apart from this fact, however, the composition of the main types of coins represented do not help, if one applies existing methods for judging, by finds, the sequence of the types.

It will be well to remark here that in connection with Anglo-Saxon hoards found in Scandinavian countries, of which that of Stora Sojdeby is a good example, coins of Æthelred II and of the early types of Canute should be found in numbers far in excess of those of the late types of Canute and subsequent kings in the period for the reason that the tribute-payments of the former king and the early levies of the latter caused the transfer of immense quantities of Anglo-Saxon coins of those monarchs to the Northern lands,

which sufficed as currency there for a long period. Diminishing quantities of Anglo-Saxon coins were struck and exported through the latter part of the reign of Canute, the reigns of Harold I and Harthacnut, and the early part of Edward's reign, after which the exports to all intents and purposes ceased.

This is a factor of utmost significance when treating the hoards of the Saxon period. The historical and economic reasons for this rise and fall in the numbers of Anglo-Saxon coins circulating in Scandinavia, are that levies for danegelt, as such, were abolished in or about A.D. 1050, and, at the same time, the northern countries were gradually ceasing to use and imitate Anglo-Saxon coins. The money of the Danish king Swen Estridsen, A.D. 1047 to 1075, largely follows Byzantine and native models. Hence the numbers of Anglo-Saxon coins of the various reigns likely to be discovered in Scandinavia would be on a rising scale until the first half of the reign of Canute, when they should diminish to practically nothing by about A.D. 1050 in the reign of the Confessor. And, in general, this is actually the case, for where there is a departure, and departures are in evidence in most finds, it simply illuminates the fact that it is risky to use the numbers of coins in hoards of the period as criteria for determining the run of the types. The incidence of the numbers of coins of the early types of Edward the Confessor unearthed in the northern lands should, however, be of some value in dating the issues.

Applying, by way of illustration, the above hypothesis of the numbers of types of coins which should appear in Scandinavian hoards, to the Stora Sojdeby find it will be seen from the Table that that find shows a rise in the numbers of coins representing the types of Æthelred II and Canute to the middle of the latter's reign, and then sinks to nothing by the middle of the reign of Edward the Confessor. Hildebrand's types A and B of Canute, and Major Carlyon-Britton's type 1 of the Confessor should be left out of consideration, as they are simply emergency issues, possibly not even authorised, and not general types. The extremely rare *Agnus Dei* pieces, Hildebrand G, should also be left out as not being general currency. Although,

broadly speaking, the Stora Sojdeby hoard follows the above rule, it is weak and misleading in detail in showing only 113 coins of the last type of Æthelred II—for the reverse inscriptions prove them to be of this last type—when there are 161 coins of the preceding issue. If one acquiesced in Hildebrand's idea of the small-cross type being struck throughout the reign, the evidence of the numbers of coins in the hoard would be still more uncertain since, under such a supposition, the small-cross types should have appeared in overwhelming numbers.

The coins of Canute in the hoard follow the rule closely, but its application to the coins of Harold I would lead to a transposition of the types given ; and of the evidence of the coins of Edward the Confessor it can only be said that the six types represented were consecutive. As to the order in which they should be placed, the numbers of coins in evidence afford no proof and are, indeed, only confusing.

We reach the end of our chronological list by a consideration of the Chester hoard. This was discovered during street repairs in Chester in 1914, and a description of it was furnished by Mr. G. F. Hill in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1920. It will be surmised, from the lengthy period which elapsed between the discovery of the treasure and the description, that it did not pass through the Treasury. Nevertheless, it is the opinion of Mr. Hill that very nearly the whole of the find was made available for description, only some fragments probably being missing.

The importance of this find consists rather in the presence of the large number of pieces of Edgar's last issue, that with his bust, and of the first type of Edward the Martyr, than in the composition of the hoard as a whole, for the reliable deductions regarding the run of the types which can be made from it are disappointingly few, and are rendered still more unstable by certain peculiarities of one of the types.

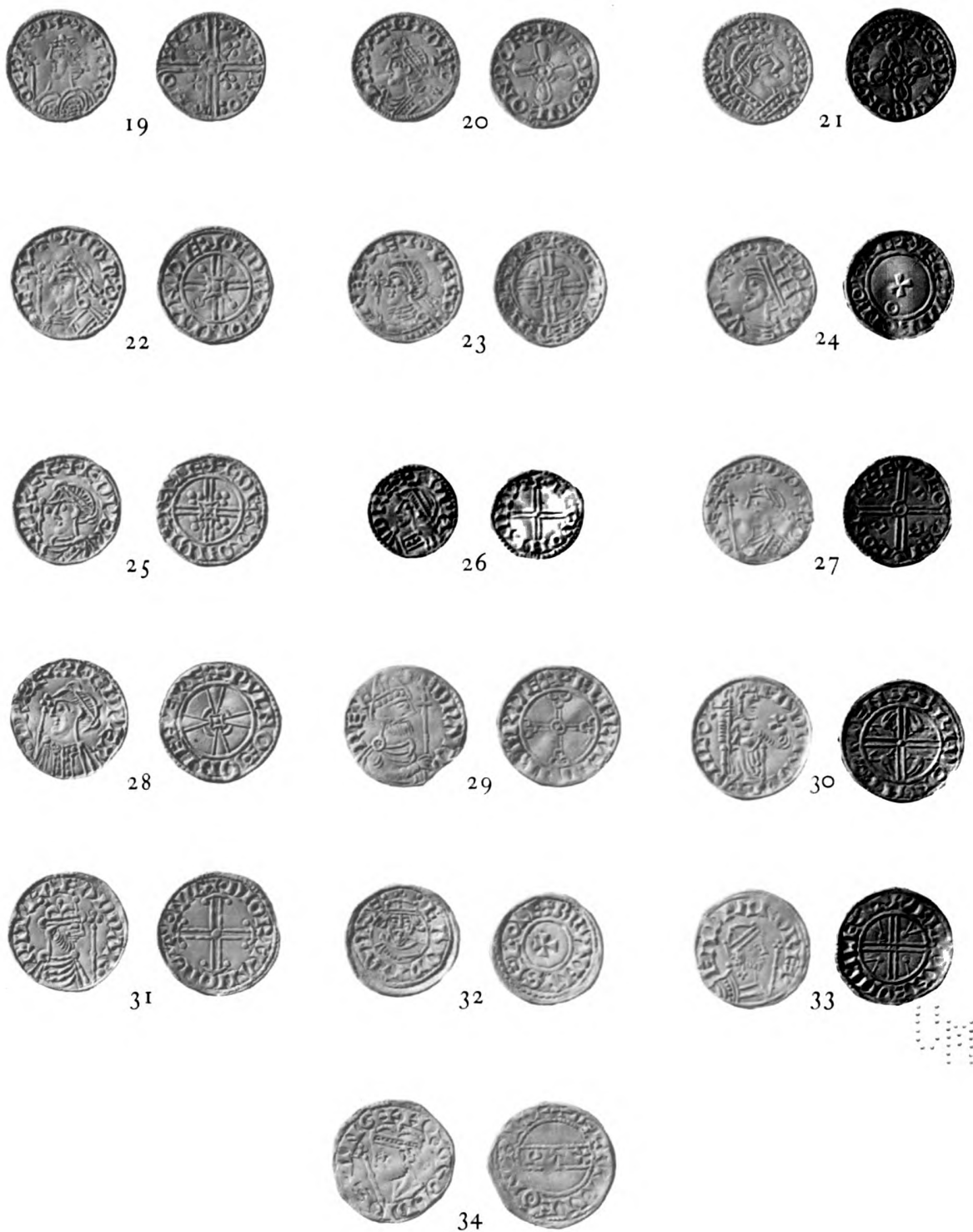
The Chester find, and some others, indicate that an issue of small-cross coins of an irregular character was made at the opening of Æthelred's reign and in the Table it is called type 1a. I had already

become aware of this issue on other and more reliable evidence,¹ but whether the output of the coins was so extensive as this find superficially indicates, is a point which can better be embodied in a separate study of a new aspect of some of the coins of the period which, so far as I am aware, has not as yet been elaborated.

The description in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of the Chester hoard is not much more than a list of the coins comprising the find, supplemented by interesting references to the moneyers' names, and evidently the writer was on unfamiliar ground. Passing such questions as the description of Æthelred's long-cross type on p. 144, and the old theory that double names on the coins represented two moneyers, I cannot discern on what ground the coin described as of type 1 variety c "*bis*" of the arrangement in the British Museum Catalogue, is referred to on p. 144 as a new variety of the first type of Æthelred II, or why it is described, on p. 162, as not in Hildebrand. Correcting the reference to what it really is, namely, type 1 variety b "*bis*," instead of type 1 variety c "*bis*," a similar coin occurs in Hildebrand under Lympne, in Kent, No. 1604. The specimen in the Chester hoard is of Canterbury, and it therefore constitutes simply another mint of an already known and published variety of type. For the explanation of the four pellets in the field of the reverse, to be noted on these coins of Canterbury and Lympne, *see* my monograph on "Symbols and Double Names on late Saxon Coins" in vol. xiii of this *Journal*.

The Canterbury penny is one of the most important coins in the Chester hoard. The most important from the point of view of dating the find. It is a muled coin connecting the *crux* type with the small-cross issue, and it serves to show, not only that the hoard covers the whole period of the intermediate Hand-of-Providence type, but that it was probably deposited at the very opening of the period of the *crux* type. So far as the Anglo-Saxon series is concerned, the *crux* type is peculiar to Æthelred II, for that ascribed

¹ The late Mr. Alcenius, of Finland, has suggested that this early issue was struck "in the interim with the name of Æthelred before the first official type of his reign—the Hand type—could be settled."



TYPES OF LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINS ETC.

Plate II

24

in the British Museum Catalogue to Harthacnut is one of that King's Danish types minted at Lund in Scania.¹ This peculiarity shows, almost beyond question, that the type had a meaning, and there was a period in the history of Æthelred II to which it could very fittingly apply, namely, in or about A.D. 991.² This date, therefore, I would submit, in the absence of a suggestion from Mr. Hill, was the time of secretion of the hoard.

In my opening remarks I showed that Hildebrand's last type of Eadgar, that is the first type in the Chester hoard, synchronized with the change of coinage recorded under annal 975 in the English chronicles commencing with that of Roger of Wendover, so that the Chester find ranged from A.D. 975 to about A.D. 991.

The evidence in the Chester hoard of the sequence of the types is weak owing to the absence of specimens of Edward the Martyr's second, or Hand-of-Providence, type, also through being represented by so few as eleven coins of Æthelred II's Hand-of-Providence issue, type 1 in the Table which, except for the single mule-type coin of the *crux* issue, is the last type represented in the hoard, and in the paucity of small-cross coins of Æthelred II, quite apart from their peculiarities. One would almost imagine that the original owner of the coins had some objection to keeping by him the two types, one of Edward the Martyr, and the other of Æthelred II, bearing the Hand-of-Providence which he ought to have possessed in fair plenty.

The mule-type coin in the Chester hoard is one of those, common to all periods, but specially marked in this, in which the obverse and reverse types were not issued consecutively. This is less remarkable at the period of the issue of the mule-coin in question, which was a time of particular stress brought about by the imposition of the first great tribute to the Danes. On the emergency a usable reverse die of the small-cross issue, possibly of Edward the Martyr or Eadgar, was rebrought into service, just as dies of the following, or Hand-of-Providence, type were similarly re-used. But the infrequent and probably irregular use of these old odd dies must not be

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 33.

² *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910, p. 281.

confused with Hildebrand's suggestion that coins of the normal small-cross type were struck as a form of tribute money concurrently with the other types throughout the whole reign.

It will be seen that the numbers of coins of each type recorded in hoards in the late Saxon period produce as much negative as positive information, and though I do not condemn entirely the use of finds as criteria for determining the run of the types, the evidence must be used with the utmost caution and can only be general in character. The finds do, however, help considerably to clear isolated points of doubt. For example, in showing that there were two small-cross issues of Edward the Confessor, one early and one late. This is proved by a survey of the finds as a whole, for whereas those of Scandinavia cease to represent English types to any extent from the middle of the Confessor's reign, the English hoards of that reign are mainly of Edward's last types. The first small-cross issue is plentifully represented in the Scandinavian hoards, and the second is as plentifully found in the English hoards, with few of the first issue, thus proving that one type occurred before, and the other after the middle of the reign. Mr. Head's shrewd deduction on this point in connection with the Chancton hoard is, therefore, justified by all the finds. Other deductions of a reliable character I have indicated in the course of this paper ; and where warranted, I have adverted to clear evidence obtainable from finds in my paper on the coins of Harold I.¹ Further deductions can usefully be made, apart from this general survey, when I come to consider the types of the coins of the other Kings of the period.

But before leaving the subject, some general conclusions derivable from a survey of the hoards of the time as a whole will be useful. There is little doubt that, in spite of the troubles of the time, Britain, commencing with the peaceful reign of Eadgar, was becoming vastly more wealthy, and this caused an ever-increasing need of coins as media of exchange in external commerce. Internal payments were also increasingly carried out in coined money. Over and above

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xv.

these needs there were the superimposed tributes to the Danes which, commencing in A.D. 991, did not cease until A.D. 1018, and even after this latter date were practically continued as an internal tax, at least down to A.D. 1050. Many thousands of pounds of silver were levied on the country by the Danes and much of this was made up in coined money. The number of coins represented by the total amount issued on the score of tributes alone must have run into many millions, and although most of this money was ultimately called in and melted down, the time was fruitful for secretion and temporary loss of a considerable amount of it. The hoards which have been unearthed in the Scandinavian countries afford ample proof of this, for it is estimated that at least 100,000 Anglo-Saxon pennies of the late period have so far been found in Sweden, 20,000 in Denmark and 10,000 in Norway. Finds have also occurred in Finland on the Russian side of the Baltic Sea, and in North Germany. The outstanding feature about these hoards is that as a general rule the numbers of coins of the types, where recorded, are proportionately much the same, and I have no hesitation whatever in saying that the variety of the types in relation to each other will always remain, more or less, in the same proportion. Thus it is clear that the output of coins of Canute's last two types, and of all the issues of Harold I and Harthacnut, was comparatively small, and I think it is certain that the finds of the future will not disclose coins of those types in numbers so disproportionately large as ever to render them as plentiful as the other issues of the period. Undoubtedly the common issues of the time are Æthelred's types 4 and 5, and Canute's types 1 and 2 on the list, all four of which follow one another. Next come Æthelred's types 2 and 3 and Canute's type 3. These seven issues cover the whole of the main tribute period, and the finds thus corroborate and add point to the historical record.

A further general fact of interest is that the intercourse between Britain and the northern lands was not merely confined to warring factions, but there was also an extensive trading connection. In fact the vikings, when it suited them, became merely armed traders.

E 2

It is clear from the coinages of these northern lands that, however unsuccessful were the military elements of this country ultimately, the peaceful influences of the merchant class had a powerful effect over the nations of the North. These influences are reflected in the coinage to perhaps a greater degree than in other activities of life. Until the late Saxon period, Scandinavia had no metallic medium of exchange, and when the people there were advanced enough to adopt one, they not only followed Britain's monetary system, but also Britain's artistic lead; for the native coins of Scandinavia to about the period A.D. 1050-60 were based on Anglo-Saxon models of style and workmanship. Again, the sources of history of Scandinavia of this time are none too plentiful, and are mingled with myth and legend, so that it is sometimes a difficult matter to sift the true from the false; and it is still more difficult to reduce the exaggerated record of an event to its proper proportions. The coins therefore, as contemporary and unimpeachable monuments, must play an important part in the history of such a time,¹ and this role is rendered the more valuable by preservation and judicious use of details relating to their provenance.

In illustration I will advert to one characteristic attaching to these finds of late Anglo-Saxon and other coins. It is, that of the huge number of pieces discovered in Scandinavia, not merely Anglo-Saxon but of other countries, the major part has been found in the comparatively small area of the Island of Gothland off the Swedish coast in the Baltic Sea. This place must therefore at one time have been the centre of the trade of the North, and it was, without doubt, the emporium for goods of a world-wide character. Here then the trader of the far south-east met the merchant of the extreme known west, whilst Anglo-Saxon, French and German goods were brought to the island with Russian, Slavic and Arabic articles of commerce.

¹ For numismatic evidence that Canute became overlord of Sweden, see my article on the coins of Sigtuna inscribed with the name of Cnut. *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 7 to 17.

All the coins illustrated are in the writer's collection except figures 3, 10, 17, 21 and 23. Figure 3 is in the British Museum, and the remaining four are in the cabinet of Mr. R. Cyril Lockett, F.S.A.

NOTE ON THE FOLLOWING TABLE OF FINDS.

For the sake of uniformity and ready reference, one standard work dealing with the types has been quoted. It is Hildebrand's Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm. The revised order of the types shown in the second column is, however, that to which later investigation has brought me.

The given sequence for Eadgar and Edward the Martyr can be regarded as axiomatic.

The disposition of the types of Æthelred II is as suggested by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1910, modified by the introduction of a small, or perhaps an interim, issue of small-cross coins at the opening of the reign, and now called type 1a. Hildebrand G of Æthelred II is, in my view, a commemorative issue, and not a substantive type.

The types of Cnut have still to be dealt with in the light of more complete data than Hildebrand possessed, and the sequence here given represents my own opinion at the moment. Hildebrand's types A and B of Cnut are not regarded by me as substantive issues, and types C and D are considered to have been struck in Cnut's continental dominions. Hence the omission of the two latter from the Table.

The number and order of the Anglo-Saxon types of Harold I and Harthacnut are as described by me in the *British Numismatic Journal*, volumes xv and x respectively.

The arrangement of the types of Edward the Confessor is that of Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1905.

HOARDS OF LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINS.

Reign.	Type.			Yholm, ¹ 1853.	Leissow, ² —.	Ipswich, ³ 1863.	Chanc- ton, ⁴ 1865.	City, ⁵ 1872.	Sedles- combe, ⁶ 1876.
	See previous Note.	Hilde- brand.	Plate Nos.						
Eadgar ..	Last	C2	1	3	5	—	—	—	—
Eadward II	1	A	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2	B	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Æthelred II	1a	A	4	1	—	—	—	—	—
	1	B	5	18	6	500 ⁷	—	—	—
	2	C	6	153	82	—	—	—	—
				1 mule A-C	4 mules A-C	—	—	—	—
	3	E	7	—	2	—	—	—	—
	4	D	8	53	16	—	—	1	—
	5	A	9	—	—	—	—	8	—
	—	G	10	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	A	11	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	B	12	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cnut ..	1	E	13	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2	G	14	—	—	—	—	1	—
	3	H	15	—	—	—	—	26	—
	4	I	16	—	—	—	—	3	—
	5	K	17	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harold I ..	1	A	18	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2	B	19	—	—	—	—	2	—

¹ Hauberg, p. 165, and Nordman, p. 27.² Nordman, p. 27.³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1864.⁴ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1867.⁵ *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. XVI; and 1885.⁶ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1879.⁷ Approximate number.

HOARDS OF LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINS—*continued*.

Reign.	Type.			Yholm, ¹ 1853.	Leissow, ² —.	Ipswich, ³ 1863.	Chanc- ton, ⁴ 1865.	City, ⁵ 1872.	Sedles- combe, ⁶ 1876.
	See previous Note.	Hilde- brand.	Plate Nos.						
Harthacnut	1A	A	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1B	Aa	21	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2B	B	22	—	—	—	—	1	—
Eadward III	1	Cd	23	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2	A	24	—	—	—	4	10	—
	3	C	25	—	—	—	1	60	—
	4	B	26	—	—	—	—	73	—
	5	D	27	—	—	—	—	37	—
	6	E	28	—	—	—	137	598	—
	7	F	29	—	—	—	430 ⁷	305	50 ⁷
	8	H	30	—	—	—	303	123	36 ⁷
	9	G	31	—	—	—	578	766	1,300 ⁷
	10	Ac	32	—	—	—	138	619	112 ⁷
	11	I	33	—	—	—	54	41	—
Harold II ..	1	A	34	—	—	—	58	6	—

¹ Hauberg, p. 165, and Nordman, p. 27.² Nordman, p. 27.³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1864.⁴ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1867.⁵ *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., XVI; and 1885.⁶ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1879.⁷ Approximate number.

HOARDS OF LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINS—*continued.*

Reign.	Type.			Sand, ¹ 1881.	Isle- worth, ² 1886.	Nesbø, ³ 1891.	Ryfylke ⁴ 1907.	Stora Sojde- by, ⁵ 1910.	Ches- ter, ⁶ 1914.
	See previous Note.	Hilde- brand.	Plate Nos.						
Eadgar ..	Last	C2	1	—	—	—	—	1	24
Eadward II	1	A	2	—	—	—	—	—	52
	2	B	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Æthelred II	1a	A	4	—	—	—	—	—	32
	1	B	5	—	5	2	—	17	11
	2	C	6	11	23	9	1	52	1 mule C-A
	3	E	7	1	—	16	1	61	—
	4	D	8	14	—	31	2	161	—
	5	A	9	1 mule D-A	—	26	2	113	—
	—	G	10	—	—	1	—	—	—
Cnut ..	—	A	11	—	—	1 mule A-B	—	—	—
	—	B	12	—	—	1	—	—	—
	1	E	13	—	—	60	5	119	—
	2	G	14	—	—	99	12	101	—
	3	H	15	—	—	—	8	55	—
	4	I	16	—	—	—	5	7	—
	5	K	17	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harold I ..	1	A	18	—	—	—	6	7	—
	2	B	19	—	—	—	5	9	—

¹ Nordman, p. 27.² *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1886.³ Bergen's Museum Aarsberetning, 1891.⁴ *Numismatic Circular*, 1913.⁵ Article by Bror Schnittger, 1915.⁶ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920.

HOARDS OF LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINS—*continued*.

Reign.	Type.			Sand, ¹ 1881.	Isle- worth, ² 1886.	Nesbø, ³ 1891.	Ryfylke ⁴ 1907.	Stora Sojde- by, ⁵ 1910.	Ches- ter, ⁶ 1914.
	See previous Note.	Hilde- brand.	Plate Nos.						
Harthacnut	1A	A	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1B	Aa	21	—	—	—	1	—	—
	2B	B	22	—	—	—	2	—	—
Eadward III	1	Cd	23	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2	A	24	—	—	—	15	13	—
	3	C	25	—	—	—	15	11	—
	4	B	26	—	—	—	6	1	—
	5	D	27	—	—	—	4	5	—
	6	E	28	—	—	—	31	5	—
	7	F	29	—	—	—	—	1	—
	8	H	30	—	—	—	—	—	—
	9	G	31	—	—	—	—	—	—
	10	Ac	32	—	—	—	—	—	—
	11	I	33	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harold II ..	1	A	34	—	—	—	—	—	—

¹ Nordman, p. 27.² *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1886.³ Bergen's Museum, Aarsberetning, 1891.⁴ *Numismatic Circular*, 1913.⁵ Article by Bror Schnittger, 1915.⁶ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920.

AN IRISH ELEVENTH-CENTURY COIN OF THE SOUTHERN O'NEIL.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

SINCE the foundation of the British Numismatic Society much has been done towards a more complete elucidation of the coinages of these islands, and amongst the notable achievements of the past was the discovery, by Major P. Carlyon-Britton, of a native issue of Wales.¹ I have now to place on record a further coinage of the Celtic peoples of these islands, this time of that branch of them which has its home in Ireland.

It must have seemed a remarkable fact to numismatists that the Celtic peoples of Ireland who, in the early mediæval period, had so advanced a civilization that they may be said to have taken the lead in much of the learning of Europe, did not institute a metallic monetary system of their own at the time of the inscribed issues of their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries. Indeed, our early schools of Irish numismatists, commencing with Simon, and ending with Lindsay, boldly but not very discriminatingly, appropriated an issue of money² to a Donald, King of Monaghan, figure 1, of which the following coin is an example:—



FIG. 1.—HIBERNO-DANISH PENNY OF DUBLIN FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO DONALD,
KING OF MONAGHAN. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.— + DYMN Roe + MNEGM

Reverse.— + FÆMIEN M NO DYEL

¹ The Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet Coinage of Wales, *British Numismatic Journal*, ii.

² See *British Numismatic Journal*, vi, p. 76.

Modern research, however, clearly shows that the coins so attributed are the product of the Hiberno-Danish, or perhaps more correctly speaking, the Hiberno-Norse, mint of Dublin at the time of Sihtric Silkbeard, A.D. 989 to 1029 or 1035, who died in 1042.

In my enquiries into the coinages of the peoples of Northern Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which have a common origin in the coins of Saxon Britain, I have come across an issue of money, so far as I know represented only by the coin now exhibited, about which there can be no question of the country of origin, and it opens an entirely new line of numismatic enquiry. That it is not one of the numerous blundered or designedly indecipherable coins of the period, is evident on comparison of it with specimens of that class of money which, in fact, was the rule in the Hiberno-Norse currency of its time ; although well struck intelligible pennies had been issued just before. Beyond a certain crudeness of execution, and a pardonable lapse on the part of the die-sinker in so punching the reverse die as to cause the legend to be retrograde, the coin reads quite clearly as follows (see figure 2) :—



FIG. 2.—PENNY OF THE SOUTHERN O'NEIL. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—NOIL + REX M, the E retrograde and the left lower limb of the X incomplete. Mantled bust to left, helmed and coroneted ; surrounded by the inscription broken by the bust and points of the crown. All within an outer dotted circle.

Reverse.—+ BLANPISE ON LI, retrograde ; the L of LI inverted. Quatrefoil with three pellets on each of the cusps, superimposed on a voided cross ; around, is the legend between an inner and outer circle.

The R of the period on Anglo-Saxon coins is generally formed with an exaggerated loop and a tiny tail. Figure 4 shows a specimen with the R formed on this coin, but owing to the brooch of the mantle being out of place and in the way, the tail of the R on the Irish specimen has almost disappeared in the circle representing the brooch. The downward folds of the mantle, one to the right and the other to the left of the shoulders, were punched into the die in the wrong way so that, instead of flowing outwards, they trend towards each other. It is an error pardonable to a tiro in the art of die making.

If we transpose the E, complete the X of REX, and place the + before instead of, as on the coin, after the king's name, the obverse inscription reads +NØIL REX M, and having regard to the reverse reading, the words REX M can mean only King of Munster.

The retrograding of the reverse inscription is not uncommon in the initial efforts of countries newly adopting a metallic medium of exchange. The die makers, of course, failed to cut the dies so as to secure forward impressions off it.

The third letter of the moneyer's name is the unbarred A of the period, and the fifth is, of course, the Saxon form of W, which was almost universal on the Anglo-Saxon prototype coinages of the period, and was continued on English money for a century after the approximate date of our coin.

We therefore have disclosed to us a moneyer called Blanwise. This is a northern dithematic name made up of the prototheme Bland and deutherotheme-wise. Both these elements are well known of the period,¹ although, until the discovery of this coin, they have not hitherto been found in association. It therefore adds another name to Searle's list, and in this connection it might be mentioned that the coinage forms our only record of many names in use in the Saxon period.

I have reason to think that in those countries where there was no necessity for an elaborate organization for the mint, the die-sinker

¹ See *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*. W. G. Searle, M.A.

was also the moneyer.¹ The matrices of this coin would therefore have been cut by an Hiberno-Norse craftsman residing in the town represented by the letters L I. Having regard to the obverse inscription, which ends in REX M, these letters unmistakably point to Limerick, the capital of Munster, and, as now, the most considerable town of the West of Ireland at the period of our coin. Limerick, in Old Norse, was equated Hlimrek, but the initial aspirate if occurring on mint names was rarely placed on the coins. To take a well known case lying nearer to us, the form Hrofeceaster almost invariably appears on our money without the aspirate, as Rofeceaster or some abbreviation of that spelling.

Limerick was one of the coast towns colonized by the Norse vikings at the time of the second period of invasion of Ireland, which commenced about A.D. 845. The Norsemen do not appear, however, to have conquered Munster, or to have been present there in very large numbers. Limerick therefore was probably never much more than a trading station to the Northmen.

However that may be, Munster failed to maintain its ground as an independent Norse kingdom after the defeat, at Sulchoit in A.D. 968, of Magnus its Norse king, by the great Irish leader Brian Boru and his brother Mahon. The Norse eclipse in the West of Ireland did not, however, involve total expulsion. A colony was left there to maintain, according to the Irish records, the trade and handicrafts of the town; for there is no doubt that in commerce and in some constructive arts the Norse settlers of Ireland were in advance of the native peoples. At least they attained by practice to a higher standard in some of these arts than did the Celts, for instance, in ship and fort building, and the making of arms.

The reverse inscription proves that, although inspired by the Celtic masters of the town the coin was the work of a Norse craftsman,

¹ For example, on the Coins of Eric, jarl or earl of Norway, A.D. 1000 to 1015, the only legend on the reverse is HROSA ME FEC = Hrosa made me. I think it is reasonable to conclude that Hrosa was the die-sinker as well as the craftsman who struck off the coins.

and it thus affords striking corroboration of the Irish records above referred to. With the statement of fact that the coin was the work of a Norseman, we can usefully return to a consideration of the obverse legend which must be considered to have been cut, in respect of the form of the king's name, in Old Norse. It is true that the title is in Latin, but that would be due to the copying of the similar word on the prototype, in just the same way as the letters ON between the moneyer's and mint names is an exact copy of that universal word on the Anglo-Saxon money of the time. Where they were appropriate, the die-sinker imitated exactly the designs, and the titles of king and moneyer; but the name of the prince to be placed on this coin was one for which there was no copy, any more than there was a guide to the form of the name of the moneyer. In both instances they were therefore by a Norseman cut in Old Norse. Now in the same way as the Old Norse name Gudröd is now equated Godred, so the modern Neil would in Old Norse be given as Nöil, alternative Noeil, the modified o, which equals oe, having the pronunciation of the French *eu*, and the i being pronounced like long e. A collateral example occurs in the name of Ramsey in the Isle of Man which in the *Chronicle of Man* appears as Romsö.

We therefore arrive at obverse and reverse readings which mean that the coin was struck by a Norse moneyer named Blanwise, for use in the town of Limerick, in the kingdom of Munster, at a time when that town and kingdom were under the dominion or, at least, the influence of an Irish king of the family of the O'Neils. Alternatively a Norse craftsman of Limerick, being called upon to strike money for the use of the merchants, was inspired to place on the coinage the greatest Irish name known at a time when warring factions, and rapid political changes, made it uncertain who was the over-king.

The question now arises "to which member of the historic family of the O'Neil the coin is to be ascribed, or in whose time and name it was struck?" Initial help in this direction will be obtained by consideration of the period of issue of the Anglo-Saxon prototypes, for

it must have been struck after the date of the second of these prototypes.

To those who are acquainted with late Saxon coins it will be seen that the prototypes are to be found in the money of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1042 to 1065. The obverse is a copy of the second type of the coinages of that king, figure 3; and the reverse is an imitation of his third type, figure 4.¹ Both of these issues, in the form imitated on our coin, are peculiar to Edward the Confessor. The type of the bust on this Irish coin shows that it was probably copied from a penny struck at a mint in the North of England at this time, for the method of showing the points of the coronet above, instead of on, the helmet, is a peculiarity frequently to be seen on the coins of this type of the northern mints of England—see figure 3 for a Derby example.



FIGS. 3 AND 4.—SHOWING THE TYPES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR FROM WHICH THE COIN OF THE O'NEIL WAS IMITATED. H. A. PARSONS.

It will be seen that the obverse of the Irish coin closely follows figure 3, and, indeed, it is more than probable that it was actually copied from a similar Derby example, because the defective X of REX, noticeable in figure 3, also appears in the imitation, figure 2. In other ways, for instance in the bust, the two coins closely approximate each other in their treatment. Commerce between Ireland and the North of England through Chester and Man was extensive at this time, and the coins of the Northern mints of England would therefore be more largely represented in the sister kingdom than those of the southern mints. That the money of the Confessor was, in fact, well known in Ireland is established by the great hoard of such

¹ The arrangement of the types followed is that of Major Carlyon-Britton in "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

coins, amounting to over 1000 examples, with more than 200 contemporary Hiberno-Norse coins, found at Dunbrody Abbey, County Wexford, in 1837. From the meagre record of this hoard, given by Lindsay,¹ we learn that coins of the two types from which the subject of our paper was imitated were present in considerable numbers; and if the hoard bears any analogy to similar finds in Scandinavia, as is probable, it would be chiefly composed of these two types.

Edward the Confessor ascended the throne of England in A.D. 1042. He issued 10 to 11 types of coins from that year to A.D. 1065 and, according to Major P. Carlyon-Britton, the last of the two types represented on our coin was continuously issued between the years 1045 and 1048.² I hardly think that the Irish penny under notice would come so early as this, for it must have taken some time for supplies of the prototype to have become known in the West of Ireland. In broad terms, the period of issue of this Irish coin would, on the evidence of the prototype, be probably after the middle of the eleventh century.

Which O'Neil then claimed dominion over Munster, or was acknowledged there, at this period? Although the O'Neils had been titular over-kings of Ireland for centuries, their main country was in the middle and north of Ireland, that inhabited by the Southern and Northern O'Neils respectively. In Munster, however, the powerful family of the O'Briens more often than not reigned supreme. A consideration of the history of Ireland at the time will, however, throw light on the question at issue.

Eliminating exaggeration and myth, the period before the suggested time of issue of the coin was marked by the rise of the greatest of the representatives of both the Southern O'Neils and of the O'Briens. The former, in the person of Malachy II³ had, by his defeat of the Norse vikings and the Southern native chiefs in the late tenth century, attained an eminence which went far towards

¹ *A view of the Coinage of Ireland*, p. 134.

² "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

³ It should be noted that modern spellings of Irish names have been adopted throughout the paper.

converting the somewhat shadowy title of over-king of his predecessors into a real overlordship of Ireland. On the other hand, his preeminence was soon after eclipsed by the most notable of the O'Briens, in the person of the chief of the Dalcassian branch, named Brian Boru. This prince seems to have flashed across Irish history like a meteor. Coming up from the fastnesses of his own native Clare, he first helped his brother Mahan to expel the Norsemen from Limerick. After the assassination of Mahan, and at the conclusion of a severe struggle with the local chiefs, Brian became, in A.D. 978, King of Munster. He then turned his attention to Malachy O'Neil who, as before stated, had gone far towards converting a loose confederacy of septs into a strong central power. He did so through necessity of self preservation, for Brian's was a nature which would not be content with his being a tributary king. Although at first checked, he by judicious if unscrupulous diplomacy arrayed the Norsemen of Dublin on his side, and so isolated Malachy that that chief of the Southern O'Neils was forced to relinquish his title of over-king and retire to Meath, where he was allowed to reign as an independent sovereign.

But Brian was not satisfied with even this measure of success, and it was not long before he broke the truce and marched to the attack of Tara, in Meath, the old Irish capital. Malachy in vain appealed for assistance from the northern branch of his family, and, in default of it, considering resistance hopeless, became, in A.D. 1001-2, a dependent king. Brian then turned his attention to the Northern O'Neils, but although by A.D. 1011 he had met with a large measure of success he never wholly subjugated the North. By this time the men of Leinster and the Norsemen of Dublin rose against the O'Brian and this resulted in the famous battle of Clontarf near Dublin, in A.D. 1014. In this battle Malachy O'Neil appeared on the side of Brian who, with the men of Clare, Munster, South Connaught and Meath, fought the rebel confederacy. The battle, although it went in favour of Brian, was disastrous for Ireland. One of Brian's sons and one of his grandsons were slain, and Brian himself succumbed to an attack by a retreating viking. With the

death of Brian, and the confusion which arose after the battle, Malachy O'Neil again became over-king with Donchad O'Brian as under-king of Munster. But there followed continuous struggles for the supremacy and, after A.D. 1022, when Malachy II died, several of the provincial kings were claimed as over-kings by their partisans. They were known as "high kings with opposition," that is, under protest of the other kings. In the period of these "high kings with opposition," the issue of the coin under notice must have occurred. The first of these high kings was Donchad O'Brian. He was deposed and exiled in A.D. 1064, when his nephew Turlough was made king of Munster. But it is evident that this was not effected without a struggle, for Turlough's elevation was only secured with the powerful aid of Diarmod MacNambo, the king of Leinster, who had risen to considerable power. Diarmod was, however, defeated and slain at Odba by Conchobar O'Neil, son of Malachy, in A.D. 1072.

This short summary of Irish history is sufficient to show that the utmost political confusion reigned in Ireland after the death of Malachy O'Neil, from which emerges the probability that the O'Neil of the South in the person of Conchobar, had all the time been making a continuous struggle to maintain in his own person his hereditary family position of over-king of Ireland. That he succeeded to a large extent is evident from the deposition and exile of Donchad O'Brian and the defeat of the Diarmod of Leinster which followed, as the latter event probably was similarly followed by the eclipse of Turlough O'Brian of Munster. For a time, therefore, between A.D. 1064 and 1072, the presumption is strong that Conchobar O'Neil was overlord of Munster, although possibly with but slender authority. The extent to which the authority of an over-king was manifested largely depended upon the conditions of the time. The under-king generally paid a tribute, not necessarily of any great value in the case of a weak claim, and the over-king reciprocated by giving a present. In cases of weak claims to the overlordship—as in the present instance—nothing much beyond this would be necessary. The coinage was, however, a prerogative always jealously guarded in the early history of nations, and no die-sinker would

willingly infringe it. Hence the name of the supreme O'Neil on our coin.

It seems certain that it was not until the year 1072 that Turlough O'Brian secured the position of high king which his uncle Donchad had once held, before his deposition and exile in A.D. 1064. But we need not go further. It is improbable that the coin was issued after A.D. 1072 and it was more likely to have been struck before. The weight of the piece is 15 grains and, as there was certainly constant connection between Limerick and Dublin, this weight would probably conform to the standard of the coins of the latter town. On this test the date of the Limerick penny would fall between A.D. 1065 and 1095.

The earlier years of this period were those of Conchobar, the last of the direct line of the Southern O'Neils, which for centuries had been the elect of Ireland. Conchobar, or his partisans in Limerick, may well have thought that to initiate a coinage, and to place upon it this famous patronymic would strengthen his claim to the overlordship of his forefathers. Coins were needed only in the towns where the Northmen carried on a foreign trade, for at the inland fairs a metallic medium of exchange was not used. Limerick was probably the principal port solely under Irish rule, hence the appearance on the coinage of the name of a city in Munster instead of, say, Tara the capital of the Southern O'Neils. Limerick still contained a considerable body of Norse settlers, amongst whom one capable of executing a coinage might be found. At this time the Irish were quite used to a native, though Norse, coinage, and only the unfortunate retardation of a real central authority, so nearly set up by both Malachy O'Neil and Brian Boru, prevented a general native Irish coinage, the convenience of which, in some circumstances, could not have escaped notice of the people.

Having regard to the peculiar constitution of the Irish kingdoms, I see nothing strange in the name of the state of Munster being placed on this coin of Limerick in Munster, although issued in the name of the O'Neil of Ireland. The die-sinker would naturally put on the coin the name of the well-established sub-kingdom in

which his town was situated. In the same era we have the similar spectacle of an English king, Cnut the Great, although mainly residing in and regarding England as the chief of his dominions, issuing coins in Denmark and Sweden with the names of those countries inserted thereon. Although sub-kings were left in charge, Cnut's name is on the money with the designations of the local kingdoms. Like the Irish coinage under review, we get the name of the over-king linked with the designation of the sub-kingdom.

A still closer example of the association on the coinage of the name of a local province with that of the overlord, and belonging to the time just prior to our coin, is an issue of money by Olaf the Saint, King of Norway A.D. 1015 to 1028, for, on a coin of this prince appears the name of a district of Norway, viz., Drontheim. The coin reads OLAVA REX DRONTI although it is well known that Olaf was king of the whole of Norway.

Failing the direct issue of the coin by the O'Neil of the time, in the person of Conchobar, there is the alternative explanation that a Norse craftsman in Limerick, at a period when no one was certain who was the over-king, struck money for the use of the merchants with the name of the greatest Irish family of that age, and of centuries before. The O'Neils had been the principal royal family of Ireland for, from the beginning of the sixth century to A.D. 1022, when Malachy O'Neil died, there had been forty high-kings, and all of them, except Brian Boru, were of the sept of the O'Neils, known before the tenth century as the Hy-Nial. Although the high-kingship was not hereditary, selection was made from the royal stock, called rig-domna, or royal material, and in view of the political confusion of the period of the coin it is not an unreasonable alternative to consider that this money should bear the name of the hereditary family of over-kings, even although they had not, at the time, very direct authority over the particular part of the country in which it was struck.

In either of the alternatives suggested for the authorship of this currency it must, notwithstanding its Norse characteristics, be regarded as a native Irish coinage, for Limerick had, at a time long

previous to the issue of the coin, reverted to Celtic rule. On my attribution of the coin this currency must rank, not only as an important addition to our numismatic and Irish historical knowledge, but also as further evidence that the Celtic race was not so supine in the matter of issue of an independent currency as is generally supposed. In addition it shows that the Irish conception of a suitable coinage was in advance of the contemporary Norse ideas on the same subject, since the currency of Dublin of probably the same period, which was not merely struck but also inspired by Norsemen, consists of money of extremely crude designs, and with frankly unintelligible legends. Indeed, the presence of the names of the king and the moneyer, as well as of the kingdom and town of issue, throws it into marked contrast with the contemporary Hiberno-Norse coins of the east side of the island, which are without even a semblance of these details.

Had Conchobar O'Neil been strong enough to maintain a real and lasting overlordship, Ireland might have continued an independent coinage of which evidence exists in this penny of Limerick. In this respect Ireland does not stand alone, for a similar instance occurred in Sweden at much the same era. There also a currency, modelled on Anglo-Saxon types, was initiated by Olaf Stötikonung, A.D. 995 to 1022, to be continued by his son and successor, Amund Jacob A.D. 1022 to 1050, and then suddenly to cease for a long period, during which no native coins were, so far as is known, struck. Hans Hildebrand, writing on the period,¹ states

“that the absence of coins in Sweden then finds its best explanation in the general state of the land. The period in question, full of troubles and bloody conflicts, is rich in the names of Kings, but of those Kings nothing more is known than the names, neither their deeds, their ages, or their exact position.”

Eliminating the uncertain in Irish annals, the same could almost be said of the Ireland of our coin. But here the analogy ceases,

¹ *The Industrial Arts in Scandinavia in the Pagan Times*, p. 104.

for when Sweden awoke from numismatic darkness, it did so to issue a coinage under its own kings. When Celtic Ireland similarly awoke from metallic currency quiescence, the English conquest had become a fact, and it was under John of England that the future Irish native coinage was re-instituted. In the money of John, Limerick was represented, and it thus sustained the honour which is its due in being the first of the Irish towns to issue a native coinage.

ON A PENNY OF THE ARMED-FIGURE TYPE WITH THE
TITLE **com** IN THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

BY LORD GRANTLEY, F.S.A.

THIS rare penny was acquired by me from the Rev. S. Bourdillon, formerly Vicar of East Tytherley, Hampshire, and was found by a workman whilst excavating for the foundations of the bell-tower of East Tytherley Church in 1884, within four miles from the site of the Winterslow heard of 1804, in which the only other known specimen, a variety of this although from the same obverse die, occurred. This latter is described in the "Catalogue of the British Museum," volume i, plate lxii, 14, under irregular issues of Stephen as an uncertain baronial coin.

Both pennies may be described as follows :—



ONE OF THE TWO SILVER PENNIES OF THE ARMED-FIGURE TYPE OF SALISBURY.

Obverse :— **✠ com.** Bust to right in armour, wearing a helmet without nasal, holding in the right hand a sword in front of face ; around, inscription divided by the bust with beaded outer circle ; star behind the bust.

Reverse :— **✠ s T** [varied respectively] **ON : s R.** Cross fleury over quadrilateral with concave sides, fleurs de lys at each angle. Around, inscription between two beaded circles.

There is no mention of a star behind the bust in the description of the Museum coin,¹ but it is very clear on this, whilst the **com**, so plain on the former, has been omitted from the latter, as the die has evidently not been pressed evenly on the flan. On my penny the legend has on the obverse the remains of the lower part of a cross preceding the lower portion of several letters which, to my eyes, are not sufficiently certain for a decided opinion.

The reverse legend of my penny is not very clear, but the first letter is **S**, the second probably half a **T**, the third or fourth letter is certainly **A**, and the end reads **ON : SA**. For this Mr. Andrew has suggested **STANGHVN**, which is his reading of the name of the moneyer upon the coins of Stephen's first type at Salisbury, Hawkins 270 ; whereas he believes the name of the moneyer on the Museum coin similar to mine to be **STANNING**, that on Stephen's coins at Salisbury of his last type, Hawkins 268. If this be correct, and I think he is right, it follows that my coin is earlier in date than its fellow, and this would seem to be so, for, although both coins are struck from the same obverse die, mine suggests a sharper impression, as if from it in its first condition. Very likely Stanghun was father to Stanning.

The attribution of these two coins is still a very open question, because, whilst the most likely person would be Patric, Earl of Salisbury, as tentatively suggested by Mr. Andrew, he at the same time admitted the difficulty that Patric, so far as we know, was not created an earl before 1149, whereas the Winterslow hoard which contained the Museum coin was almost certainly deposited whilst Stephen's second regal issue, Hawkins type 269, was still being issued. But for this one would assume that no other person could have struck a coin which has 1, a conical helmet instead of a crown ; 2, the word for *Comes* ; 3, the mint SA for Sarum or *Sarisberie* on both the coins in review.

The **on** of **com** only occurs in this uncial form with the characteristic rounded centre, and tail on the right, on one other type of

¹ It is, however, visible, for Mr. Andrew called attention to it in the *Numismatic Circular*, 1914.

Stephen's reign, Hawkins 284, attributed in the Museum Catalogue "to William of Gloucester between his father's death in 1147 and the arrival of Henry in 1149." But here, again, the same difficulty arises. These coins were present in the Winterslow hoard, and to accept his attribution would necessitate our extending the issue of Stephen's second type, Hawkins 269, to 1147, or 1148, an improbable supposition. I therefore prefer Mr. Andrew's attribution of this series bearing the name of William and the same general reverse designs as that of the coin which is the subject of this paper, to William de Mohun, who, according to Dr. Horace Round,¹ was created Earl of Somerset and Dorset in or before 1141. I would go further and suggest the possibility even, for I will not put it stronger, that he was also the issuer of another coin in my collection, similar in type to the "William series," with an illegible name but the title **COMES**, for *Comes*, on the obverse, and **• • LL DE VIZAI**, for William of Devizes, as its reverse legend.

The Empress used only Stephen's first type on the reverse; which was doubtless what the public were accustomed to. Mr. Brooke,² quoting the charter to Aubrey de Vere confirmed by Henry of Anjou, points out that Matilda probably abandoned her claims about 1142-3, and the Angevin party, as Henry of Anjou's first issue shows, placed his name instead of his mother's on the coins with, for continuity's sake, the same type as the latter's. It seems to me that Henry was desirous of effacing all traces of the usurper Stephen's types by coining for his second issue, with full face, his grandfather's last type—the fifteenth of Henry I—which Mr. Brooke ascribes to the years 1142-43. This with little variety and the voided cross style, formed the bulk of the rebel coins. The probable suspension of the Pyx trials owing to civil war caused Stephen's first type, including Matilda's, to form a long series in time and bulk, and it seems likely that many of the more obscure baronial and irregular issues³ followed this type, with

¹ Geoffrey de Mandeville, pp. 271, 277.

² "British Museum Catalogue," p. cxxvii.

³ See "British Museum Catalogue," pp. lxxi-xcix.

surcharged and other variations. These may have been prior to 1142 if this is the date, as supposed by Mr. Brooke, when those representing the boy, Henry of Anjou, changed his reverse type.

The anomalous character of the coins of Bishop Henry de Blois seems to point to his having, on Stephen's captivity in 1141, assumed a quasi-regal supremacy over the royal party which his position as legate and King's brother would warrant his doing. William of Malmesbury¹ quotes the legate as saying that by the condescension of the Pope he acted as his vice-regent in England. There is no territorial legend and they must by their reverses have emanated from York, where his power was strongest. This coinage and that of Robert de Stuteville, with those which the see of York had the prescriptive right of issuing, must have balanced those of the Angevin Earls in the west, and of Eustace Fitz-John commanding the Scottish-Angevin army in the north, for Mr. Lawrence has I think rightly argued that Eustace Fitz-Stephen could not have struck coins in his father's lifetime even if the latter was in captivity.

¹ A.D. 1141. p. 518.

THE CALAIS MINT, A.D. 1347-1470.

By A. STANLEY WALKER, M.A.,

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GENERAL HISTORY.

IN England, in Anglo-Saxon times, the existence of a market-town implied also the existence of a mint.¹ In Plantagenet days the locations of coinage in England had become more limited and centralized, but in our possessions in France something of the old freedom appears to have persisted. Dieppe, Eausse in Gascony, Lagun in Guienne, Limoges, Paris, Poitiers, Rochelle, Rouen, and Tours, with other places, all received coining rights from various kings.² It is not surprising, therefore, that Calais, long a fairly prosperous market-town and fishing centre while in French hands, should, on its capture by Edward III, participate in these privileges.

In general, the main reason which accounts for royal willingness to establish mints freely overseas, is to be found in the then-current theory of the essential superiority of bullion as wealth over every other commodity. This led naturally to continued efforts, expressed in many acts of Parliament, to prevent the export of the precious metals from England, and to the institution of various bullion regulations designed to compel the foreign trader to feed the overseas

¹ L. Woosnam, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1921, p. 96.

² *Ruding*. "Annals of the Coinage," ii, 257-260. But no coins are known of Dieppe, Eausse, or Lagun. Edward III and the Black Prince coined at Limoges, Poitiers and Rochelle; Henry V at Rouen. Paris and Tours struck only for Henry VI, and then only in his right as King of France.

mint. While the establishment of a royal mint in any overseas trading centre might give rise to pious hopes of the successful operation of such economic theories, Calais, especially on the foundation of the wool Staple there, must have appeared as the place for their introduction, for not only was it to be the market for the greatest and most important of England's exported commodities, but that commodity formed the indispensable raw material of the looms of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres. The almost complete monopoly of supply lay in the hands of the English Staple merchant, and the Flemish buyer could be forced to accept almost any conditions of sale. One such condition, that only money coined in Calais should be current in the town, appears to have been very necessary from the English trader's point of view, for there is evidence that, when the Staple for wool was held at Bruges, the standard of foreign gold currency was so poor that the Englishman often lost more than one-third on the exchange.¹

The Calais mint was established by Edward III, by a writ dated the 20th of October, 1347, six months before the foundation of the first Calais Staple.² Its first Master was William de Salop, who, for a time at least, appears to have combined the offices of Master of the Mint and Treasurer of the Town.³ In the writ of 1347 de Salop was simply appointed as "Custos of the coinage in Our Town of Calais, and to make the Assay there as often as need shall be." On his re-appointment on the 6th of February, 1348, it was ordained that "the moneyers in the said Town . . . shall make and strike such white money as is made and struck in Our Realm of England . . . and of such weight and alloy as that money."⁴ There can be little doubt that the Calais mint, throughout the period of its existence, depended for its prosperity upon the Staple. It is probable, therefore, that this second appointment of de Salop, in terms more expressly specifying the functions of the new institution, was made in preparation for the establishment of

¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, ii, 165-166, § 10.

² *Rymer*, Record edition, 3, i, 140.

³ *The same*, 150.

⁴ *The same*.

the Calais Staple for tin, lead, and woollen cloth, which was made by a writ¹ dated the 5th of April, 1348.

But various reasons, which need not be discussed here, caused appeals against this first Calais Staple to be presented to the King,² and it is practically certain that the institution did not endure long³ after the end of the year 1348. The mint regulations, in consequence, were immediately relaxed, and on the 28th of May, 1349, we find a writ addressed, not to de Salop, but to Sir John Beauchamp, Captain of Calais, ordering him

for Our greater advantage and profit, and for the satisfaction of Our people in the Town, and of Our subjects and friends in the parts adjacent, to cause to be struck and coined afresh, and to be re-issued at a value to be by you determined, such of the Town's money as you deem necessary and convenient.⁴

The importance of the Master of the Mint had obviously diminished with the abolition of the Staple, even if the office had not actually disappeared. The reason probably was that the somewhat ambitious project of carrying on continental trade exclusively in English currency, was impracticable until Calais as a wool-staple was able to force her trade. That the re-issue, which it is to be presumed was undertaken by Beauchamp, was one corresponding in values with existing continental currencies is more than suggested by the terms of a mint indenture which was made—though it was cancelled before ever it came into operation—on the 5th of May, 1350, with Nicholas de Multoplusane, Thomas de Nottingham and their fellows, merchants.⁵ These were authorized to coin in Calais

money of gold and silver, white and black, agreeing in coin, weight, and alloy and all other things, with the money

¹ *Rymer*, Record edition, 158.

² *The same*, 178.

³ A writ of the 3rd of January, 1349, to the collectors of custom in Lynn authorized free export of cloth, tin, lead, and feathers, until further notice, notwithstanding the ordinance of the previous April.—*Calendar of Close Rolls*, viii, 583.

⁴ *Rymer*, 3, i, 185.

⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, ix, 224.

of France . . . and whenever the King of France changes his moneys they may also change . . .

From this time onwards until the establishment of the full Staple in Calais in 1363, the activities of the Calais mint must have been very slight.¹ By the year 1362 Edward's financial difficulties were bringing into prominence the new and greater project of making Calais the sole centre of the English wool export trade, and in the discussion on this proposal in the Parliament of 1362, the old complaints against the losses on the foreign exchange under existing circumstances were quoted in favour of the scheme.²

The prospects of the Calais mint now began to look brighter, and on the 20th of February, 1362, Thomas de Brantyngham, Treasurer of Calais, was appointed Receiver of all the profits arising from the mint. The accounts of these profits he was to return into the Exchequer, and to be answerable to the king for the same.³ On the 1st of March, 1363, the full Staple of wool, fells and other "great merchandise" was established at Calais, and a company of twenty-six merchants, most of them old fermours of the customs and creditors of the king, was appointed to control its trade.⁴ On the same day a mint indenture was granted by Edward to Henry de Brisele⁵ who was now created Master of the Calais Mint.⁶

The conditions of coinage at Calais were to be identical with those in vogue at the Tower of London.⁷ The gold used for coining was to be twenty-three carats three and a half grains fine, of a value of

¹ The earliest Calesian coins known belong to the post-Bretigny period, that is, to the second period of the fourth coinage of Edward III. They carry the inscription EDWARD. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. DNS. HYB. S. AQT. and omit FRANC.

² *Rolls of Parliament*, ii, 268, i.

³ *Ruding*, ii, 254.

⁴ *Rymer*, 3, ii, 690.

⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1360-1364, p. 535.

⁶ De Brisele had been Master of the tower mint in 1351.—*Calendar of Close Rolls* ix, 379.

⁷ The terms of the indenture analysed below are identical with those of the indenture made in 1371 with Bardet de Malepils of Florence.—*Rymer*, 3, ii, 915.

fifteen pounds sterling per tower pound. Three kinds of gold coins were to be struck—a noble, value six shillings and eightpence, a demi noble and a quarter noble ; the noble weighing 45 to the tower pound and the others in proportion.¹ Of this issue the king received as his seignorage three shillings and sixpence by tale of each pound weight of specie. The Master of the Mint, for his labour, waste, die-cutting, loss of weight, and all other costs, except the wages of the royal officers of the mint, took eighteenpence by tale, to be paid him by the Wardens of the mint, so that the merchant, for every pound weight of gold he brought to the mint for coining, received £14 15s. by tale.

In recognition of the difficulty of coining to an absolutely exact standard of weight, a variation of one-sixteenth of a carat per pound weight, in gold or alloy or both, in excess or in default of the stipulated standard was permitted, and within this margin of variation of one-eighth of a carat, that is, one half grain, which was termed the “ Master’s remedy,” a coin was passed as valid and might be put into circulation. Coins which varied either way to a greater degree than this would be rejected at the assay and returned for recoining at the expense of the Master.

Four ounces of nobles, six ounces of demi nobles and two ounces of quarter nobles were to be coined out of each pound weight of gold.

The fineness of silver was eleven ounces two pennyweights in the pound with eighteen pennyweights of alloy. Four principal coins were to be struck—a groat, value fourpence ; a demi groat ; a sterling, value a penny ; and a maille, value a halfpenny ; seventy-five groats went to make up a tower pound, and the other coins weighed in proportion. Further, a hundred pounds’ weight of silver per annum was to be coined into ferlings, or farthings. Of this minting the King’s Wardens retained eightpence by weight, that is nearly tenpence farthing by tale, per pound weight, tower, of silver, and from

¹ The tower pound was lighter than the troy pound by three-quarters of an ounce.

this sum the Master, for the purposes specified above, was to receive sevenpence by tale, the remainder belonging to the King as seignorage. The merchant, therefore, received for each pound weight of silver handed in for coining, nineteen shillings and fourpence by weight, or twenty-four shillings and twopence by tale.

In the coinage of silver a variation of two pennyweights per pound weight, in excess or default, was allowed as "Master's remedy." Each pound weight of silver was to be coined into three ounces of groats, four ounces of demi groats, four ounces of sterlings, and one ounce of mailles. It was the duty of the Wardens to exercise a continual supervision over the processes of coining and, on the completion of an issue, it was to be kept until it was placed in circulation, in a chest locked with two keys, one of these remaining with the Wardens, the other with the Master, so that no tampering with the issue was possible, except by general connivance.

Before any issue was placed in circulation, a certain proportion was taken out for purposes of assay and placed in a coffer sealed with the seals of the Wardens, the Changer, and the Master, locked with three keys and stored safely in a chest. Thus, of each five-pounds' weight of gold, the value of one noble was taken in three sums of equal value, composed, respectively, of each coin struck. Of each hundred-pounds' weight of silver, likewise, were taken two shillings by tale, in groats, demi groats, sterlings, mailles and ferlings, in sums of equal value.

Once in every three months the coffer was opened before the Governor, the Treasurer of the town, and the two Mayors, in the presence of the Wardens and the Master of the Mint, and the assay was made. The Governor, Mayors, and Wardens were then bound to make to the King and Council in England a report on their finding, and on the satisfactory nature of their report depended the granting of letters patent of acquittance to the Master of the Mint.

As a further precaution, a small amount of gold and silver coin of every assay was to be placed in a box under the seal of the Governor, Treasurer, Mayors, and the Wardens and Master of the Mint, and

sent to England for the Council to make a further assay so often as they considered it necessary to do so.

The business regulations of the mint were as follows: The Master was bound to receive in the presence of the Wardens and Changer, all kinds of gold and silver brought to the mint, and to pay for it the full price according to its quality. In case any dispute should arise between the Master and a customer of the mint respecting the value of any parcel of bullion offered for sale, the decision was to be left to the King's Assayers, who were to test the metal in the presence of the Wardens and Master, and the latter was bound to purchase the bullion at their valuation. To secure accuracy and fairness in such assessments, a regulation occurs ordering a periodical testing and rectification of mint balances and weights.

On the receipt of gold or silver at the mint, it was the duty of the Wardens to deliver bills to the merchants concerned, signifying the amount of bullion or foreign specie they had handed in, and the sums which were due to them on coining, "so that the said merchants, or their attorneys, showing the said bills, might be repaid on issue." These bills the Wardens were bound to redeem at their price, and merchants were guaranteed free ingress to and egress from the mint, without fee or gratuity to any official.

Issue was made from the mint once a week, at least, and twice when possible, but after the assay had been made, and before the issue of specie, it was incumbent upon the Wardens, Changer, and Master to strike a balance between the cash in hand at the mint and the total sum due to bill holders. If the cash in hand was not sufficient to make full payment of all these obligations, then the issue was divided proportionally between the mint's creditors, regard being taken of the date when individuals handed in their bullion, and the time when it had been minted. Any creditor of the mint, however, could demand from the Wardens at any time of issue evidence of the mint's solvency in respect to his particular debt; that is to say, if a merchant received only half of what was due to him at any particular issue, the Wardens might be called upon to show that they held in

G 2

his name bullion, or foreign specie awaiting re-coinage, to the amount of the other half.

The King's profits from coining were held by the Wardens, who rendered an account periodically for what they received, and they were in entire charge of the working of the mint, the Master being responsible to the King directly only in respect of deficiencies in weight and fineness discovered at the assay. The King bound himself, once a month, to cause proclamation to be made in Calais forbidding the use in the locality, for any purpose, of any money save that issued by the Calais mint, under pain of the loss of the non-Calesian money used, and a term of imprisonment. Similar penalties were prescribed against the use of counterfeit coin, and the informer who was willing to sue the smasher or the utterer of counterfeit coin, was offered one third of the forfeiture as his reward. All the former privileges and franchises of Calais moneyers were confirmed by this indenture.

In the charter of 1363, granted to the Calais Corporation,¹ the order establishing the mint was repeated, and the further information given that the Master, Wardens, and Changer were to be laymen, the Master being appointed by the King and Council, the others by the Mayors and Aldermen, who might dismiss and replace their nominees upon fair cause being shown, provided the assent of the Governor and Treasurer to the change was first obtained. The Town Corporation, further, was to be at no charge for the support of the mint.

The confirmation of the privileges of the moneyers granted in the indenture above was repeated specifically in a writ of the 3rd of March, where it was stated that these privileges should be identical with those enjoyed by similar workers in London and Canterbury, namely, exemption from service on assizes, juries, and recognitions of all kinds; the right of trial before the Master and Wardens of the mint, except in pleas concerning property and in cases within the jurisdiction of the Crown, and freedom from all tolls, aids and other

¹ *Rymer*, 3, ii, 693.

dues exacted on individuals and their property, lands, and merchandise in England as well as Calais.¹

During the next five years the machinery of the Calais mint was still further organized. Specie regulations were frequently passed,² and every effort was exacted to make the mint fulfil the economic functions designed for it. Also, some time about the March of 1362 an exchange of money and plate was set up in Calais.³

In 1364 de Brisele was succeeded as Master of the Calais mint by Walter de Barde, who also held the Mastership at the Tower.⁴ This man, on the 1st of July, 1365, was succeeded by Thomas King.⁵ On the 25th of October, 1366, de Barde entered upon his second mastership⁶ still under the terms of the 1363 charter, and in the next year he is again mentioned as "Master of the King's Mints in the Tower of London and at Calais."⁷ In 1368 William de Gunthorp, Treasurer of Calais, was appointed Receiver of all mint profits under the supervision and control of the Mayor, account to be made to the King for the same.⁸ Evidently the new Staple establishment at Calais, together with the reorganization of the Calais mint in 1363, had produced some effect, for, in spite of the comparative paucity of Edwardian Calesian coins still surviving, the mint profits from the 13th of April in the 39th to the 13th of April in the 40th year of Edward III were £1,091 1s. 8d.; and from the 13th of April in the 40th to the 22nd of March in his 42nd year they amounted to £1,289 3s.⁹

But this period of prosperity was not to last. The accession

¹ *Rymer*, 3, ii, 693.

² For specie regulations see pp. 107-12.

³ *Ruding*, ii, 257, says that the earliest notice of the Calais exchange occurs in 1370. But see *Catalogue of Close Rolls*, 1360-64, p. 495, of the 10th of December, 1363, which implies that this exchange was first created about the time quoted above. The last notice I have of the Calais exchange occurs in 1509, when its Custos was Sir Thomas Boleyn. *Rymer*, 1st ed., xiii, 258.

⁴ *Ruding*, ii, 255.

⁵ *Rymer*, 3, ii, 772.

⁶ *Rymer*, 3, ii, 811.

⁷ *Catalogue of Patent Rolls*.

⁸ *Ruding*, ii, 255.

⁹ Accounts of de Brantingham and de Gunthorp, Treasurers of Calais, 42, Edward III; Pipe Office, Foreign Accounts, 6th February, 1366-20th March, 1368.

of the young and active Charles V to the throne of France in the April of 1364, made an active prosecution of the war once more probable. Anxiety for the safety of Calais as a fortress now became predominant in the mind of Edward, trade in the Channel became increasingly difficult as the time of the outbreak approached, and in 1369, when war conditions again prevailed, the Staple was removed from Calais.¹ In consequence we have no notices of the Calais mint for this and the next year, and its activities probably ceased, unless coining was undertaken for merely military payments.

There is some evidence, however, to be derived from a proclamation of Edward III, addressed to the Sheriff of Kent for publication and dated the 10th of August, 1370, that the Staple was temporarily restored at Calais at that time,² and some confirmation of the King's hopes of restoring affairs to their previous state may be seen in the appointment, on the 20th of May, 1371, of Bardet de Malepilys de Florence to the mastership of the Calais mint.³

But it is doubtful how complete this re-establishment of the Calais Staple was. No very definite mention⁴ of it is to be found after the 3rd of August, 1371, until the restoration of 1376, which was made by Act of Parliament,⁵ and trade with Calais during this period was certainly at a low ebb. With the return of the Staple there was another revival of the Calais mint. William Eremyn was now "Warden of the Mint," and, possibly with a view to the increase of bullion and foreign specie receipts, he is ordered to take in future only three shillings sterling for the King's seignorage from every pound of pure gold worked.⁶

One of the last acts of the old King Edward, it is thus seen, was

¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, ii, 301, 24.

² *Catalogue of Close Rolls*, xiii, 192.

³ *Rymer*, 3, ii, 915.

⁴ *Catalogue of Patent Rolls, 1370-1374*, p. 131. *Close Rolls*, Edward III, xiii, 390-91; 434 of 1372; xiv, 170 of 1374. *Parliament Rolls*, ii, 315, § 49, 318; v, 17.

⁵ *Rolls of Parliament*, ii, 323-324, 358; *Rymer*, 1st edition, vii, 118; where it will be seen that part of the charge against the infamous Richard Lyons was based on offences against the moneyage of Calais.

⁶ *Ruding*, ii, 255.

an effort to rehabilitate this mint. But his effort was to bring no results. For the first ten years of the reign of Richard II there are no bullion records even for the Tower mint. The majority of the new coins struck in this reign fall between Michaelmas, 1388, and Michaelmas, 1390 ; that is to say, about the time of the declaration of the King's majority. But none of these coins are Calaisian. I have not yet discovered a single specific reference to the Calais mint ; in fact, not after 1378, when de Barde was Master for the third time,¹ until 1391, when a bullion regulation orders the ounce of gold bullion per sack of wool sold to be taken to the Calais mint instead of to the Tower, whither it had gone previously.² The very fact that such bullion contributions from wool sales had been diverted to London, strengthens the supposition of the dormancy of the Calais mint, and the dependency of the latter mint upon the Calais Staple is again seen when it is remembered that, after a period of some uncertainty, it was about 1391 that the Staple finally returned to Calais.

Even after the return of the Staple, however, the Calais mint did very little, and notices of it are rare. In 1393 Richard Clytheroe was appointed Exchanger and Assayer, and the continuance of some sort of activity is denoted by an order of the next year directing the Treasurer of Calais to pay mint wages as they became due.³ In 1396 we find John Feld in Clytheroe's place, and two Calais nobles and one half-noble of his manufacture, the only survivors from Calais of the coinage of this reign, of which I am aware, are preserved to us.⁴ But in spite of this flash of activity, the Tower mint, in 1397, resumed its rights to bullion,⁵ all remonstrances from the Staple being ignored,⁶ and the reign, as far as the Calais mint was concerned, closed in stagnation.

There are, of course, political reasons which account for this lack of coining activity during Richard's reign, and perhaps some

¹ *Ruding*, ii, 255.

² *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 285.

³ *Ruding*, ii, 256.

⁴ The Walters Sale Catalogue, Nos. 194, 195 and 199.

⁵ *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 340.

⁶ *The same*, 369.

of those which affected Calais may briefly be noted here. In the first place our sea power was very seriously neglected, to the great danger of Calais itself and the ruin of trade.¹ In the very first year of the reign Calais only just escaped a siege by Philip of Burgundy,² raids into and from the Pale were incessant from 1377 to 1379,³ trade was still further handicapped owing to internal troubles in Flanders, and because the wages of the garrison of Calais were falling further and further into arrear, the situation there was anything but conducive to peaceful commercial development.⁴ Domestic troubles in England were followed in 1384 by further fears of designs by the Duke of Burgundy upon Calais, and in the September three sea fights against him took place before the town.⁵

So great, in fact, were the difficulties of holding Calais amid such domestic turmoil, that we find definite projects mooted of surrendering the town—in 1384 by Parliament,⁶ in 1387 by Richard himself,⁷ and in 1389 by the warlike Lancaster, lately returned from Portugal to rescue his nephew from the Lords Appellant.⁸

It was during this period of war that the Calais Staple was either non-existent or very inactive,⁹ and it is during this very same period that we have no notices of the Calais mint. In 1396, the year in which we have noticed that some Calesian coins at least were struck, a truce was made with France consequent upon the marriage of Richard with Isabella, and the new pro-French tendencies of the

¹ See complaints, &c., on this head in *Parliament Rolls*, iii, 23-24, § 98 ; 25, § 110 ; 73, § 10 ; 94, § 34 ; 102, § 28 ; 138, § 30, No. vii ; also § 37, No. xiv ; 162, § 46 ; 213, § 37 ; 216, § 6.

² *Istoire et Cronique de Flandres*, ii, 143-144.

³ *Walsingham*, i, 344, 366, 373, 390.

⁴ *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 73, § 10 ; 88, § 4.

⁵ *Walsingham*, ii, 135, 136.

⁶ *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 170.

⁷ *Knighton*, ii, 243-244 ; cf. also *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 234.

⁸ *An English Chronicle* of the reigns of Richard II to Henry VI, Camden Society, 1856, p. 7.

⁹ For condition of the Staple during this time see *Rymer*, iv, 12, 137 : Early Chancery Roll, *Daumet*, "Calais sous la domination anglaise," to p. 128.

English King are shown by the omission on these coins of the claim to the title "Rex Francie."

Immediately upon his accession, Henry IV, in response to a petition from the Staple, re-established the mint in Calais, and, no doubt with a view to ingratiating himself with the wealthy merchant class, he repealed all the acts of the last Parliament of Richard II, including the hated bullion Act¹ of 1397.

But Henry had too many troubles at home in the early years of his reign to allow him to pay much attention to the technicalities of the coinage. According to Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., between 1399 and 1411 comparatively few new coins were struck either in England or Calais,² and, so far as Calais especially is concerned, it is clear that the old mint regulations had become very laxly observed, for in the Parliament of 1400-1401, a complaint was made against the introduction by merchants into England from Calais of Flemish nobles, worth only six shillings and sixpence. Three or four of these, it was stated, were invariably to be found in every five pounds' worth of money, and so serious was the matter considered to be that the old regulations enforcing the taking of foreign coin to the Calais mint were re-enacted.³

Perhaps it was this circumstance that led to the short period of activity in the Tower and Calais mints between 1401 and 1404 which has left us, I believe, two nobles, one half-noble and one quarter-noble of the heavy coinage, as representing the Calais mint under Henry IV. Again, however, the revival was but temporary, and the ordinance for the light coinage of 1411, although enacted so as to include Calais under its scope,⁴ produced no results there that have survived.

Again, as in the previous reign, the dormant state of the Calais mint in particular may be accounted for by the outbreak of hostilities in and about the Pale. These began in 1405, just, it will be noted,

¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 429, § 86.

² *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905, p. 247.

³ *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 470, § 61.

⁴ *The same*, 658-659, § 28.

at the time of the cessation of what minting activity there was, with pro-Ricardian raids on the Pale by Waleran of Luxemburg, Count of St. Pol¹; they were continued by John the Fearless, who threatened Calais with a siege in 1406²; were again taken up by St. Pol in 1411, when he attempted to capture Guines,³ and were revenged by Warwick's raid on the Boulonnois later in the year.⁴

Henry V came to the throne in a time of nominal truce. He had, while Prince of Wales, been Captain of Calais for a time, and knew something of Calesian problems. He, therefore, strengthened the garrison of the town,⁵ and attempted to ward off insolvency in the Pale by passing an act of resumption of grants, gifts, and offices made by Richard II and Henry IV.⁶ Also, in the first year of his reign, we again hear of a Master of the Mint, Lodowich John being appointed "Master and Worker of the Mints of London and Calais."⁷ But little if anything would seem to have resulted from this appointment so far as it concerned Calais⁸; and Ruding, in point of fact, gives no returns at all of any bullion coined at the Calais mint during the whole reign. Indeed, it seems that after the appointment of John, the mint at Calais gradually ceased to work, for, in 1421, the Staple complained that the Victualler of Calais refused to receive obligations of subsidy unless they were paid in English nobles, and this, it was pointed out, was impossible unless there was a mint in Calais.⁹ The result was the appointment about six months before the death of Henry V of Bartholomew Goldbeter as Master of the London and Calais mints, but it is doubtful whether, in the short time at his disposal, he issued much coinage from Calais.¹⁰

¹ See *Waurin*, iv, 94-97, Rolls Series, and *Monstrelet*, Routledge, i, 35.

² *Waurin*, iv, 105; see also *Patent Rolls*, iii, 89.

³ *Waurin*, iv, 151-152.

⁴ *The same*, 154.

⁵ *The same*, 163.

⁶ *Rolls of Parliament*, iv, 13, No. 40.

⁷ Mr. F. A. Walters, in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1906, p. 173.

⁸ But rare examples of Henry V's Calesian coins are known, see p. 99.

⁹ *Rolls of Parliament*, iv, 146, § 27, No. iv.

¹⁰ See Mr. Walters's paper as before.

The military distractions of Henry V need no comment here. Suffice it to note that real interest in the mint, when it arose in this reign came from Staple sources, and then only after the Treaty of Troyes, at a time when a resumption of active commercial enterprise seemed a possibility.

Between 1421 and 1435 the Calais Pale for the first time for many years was free from hostilities, and the period is remarkable for the scarcity of notices of Calais in any connection. With peace came prosperity, and it is precisely during these years, which cover the "annulet," the "rosette mascle" and part of the "pine-cone-masle" coinages of Henry VI, that the Calais mint enjoyed its period of greatest prosperity and, in fact, issued the majority of the coins then in circulation in England, its output being so considerable that Calaisian silver of Henry VI is to-day amongst the most plentiful of our mediæval coinage.

The Patent to Bartholomew Goldbeter, which had lapsed on the death of Henry V, was not renewed by the Council of Regency until the 16th of February, 1423, and Mr. Walters considered it probable that both the London and Calais mints stopped during this period.¹ Be that as it may, preparations for work had been begun in the previous year, when, on the 16th of May, there were issued

"to William Lackford, Richard Buckland's man, all irons, etc., necessary to coin money in Calais, viz., one for gold nobles, one for half-nobles and one for gold ferlings; one for silver groats and one for half-groats, one for pennies, one for halfpennies and one for silver ferlings."²

On the 1st of October, 1422, Buckland was replaced as Receiver and Keeper of the dies by John Kempley, while Jacob Shaft was appointed Exchanger and Assayer.³ The Mint charter itself⁴ was confirmed in 1423.

¹ *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, pp. 224-266.

² *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ii, 332.

³ *Ruding*, ii, 256.

⁴ *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 219.

Staple interest in the institution immediately revived and was shown in a petition of this year to Parliament, demonstrating a pride in the recent activities of the Calais mint and an irritation at the export of specie from England, which supplied the Bruges merchants with a sufficiency of English nobles, and deprived the Calais mint of a large part of its legitimate business.¹ By 1425 the mint at Calais was again earning a profit, which was now granted to the Treasurer and Victualler of the town for use in the payment of wages and the provision of food for the garrison.² This ordinance was to remain in force for five years from the 11th of November, and was subsequently renewed, in 1429, for a further five years in order to cover a Treasury grant of 10,000 marks, which had been made to Calais to compensate for a failure in the returns from subsidy, due to a murrain among sheep in England.³

Unfortunately, the bad administration of Henry VI in Calais was rapidly leading to the accumulation of an enormous debt in the town, and free export of wool, licensed and unlicensed, was badly damaging Staple trade, and robbing the Calais mint of much of its due in the shape of foreign bullion and specie.⁴ Commerce and the mint, therefore, were labouring under difficulties which rendered the importance and extent of Calesian coinage at this time the more surprising and interesting. By 1435 Richard Buckland was Master of the Mint in Calais, and the scale of issue of coining appliances made to him on the 13th of December betokens a continued expectation of a large output from this mint.⁵ The issue included: 350 cruises and pyles for groats, 600 for half-groats, 30 for pennies, and 60 for mailles and ferlings.

But in 1436 came the siege of Calais by Philip of Burgundy,⁶ and the carefully built-up commercial and financial edifice of peace

¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, iv, 252, § 42.

² *Ruding*, loc. cit.

³ *Rolls of Parliament*, iv, 340, § 24.

⁴ See *Rolls of Parliament*, iv, 410, § 51.

⁵ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, iv, 306-307.

⁶ See the account of the siege in *Monstrelet*.

times came down with a crash. The Calais mint never again recovered. In 1437 Giles Seyntlowe appears as Comptroller,¹ and in January, 1441, Robert Whittingham, possibly a son of Richard Whittingham who was Mayor of the Staple² in 1413, now Master of the Calais mint, received, as his predecessor in office, Buckland, had, his "pyles and cruses." But the smallness of the issue was a token of the decline of the mint,³ for it was only 12 pyles and 96 cruses for groats, 3 pyles and 12 cruses for half-groats, and the like for pennies, mailles, and ferlings, respectively. Henceforward the history of the Calais mint consists of a list of a few inactive Masters,⁴ and, as early as 1442, John Langton, who was appointed Receiver and Keeper, as de Salop had in earlier days, combined those offices with that of Treasurer of the Town.⁵

In the same year, too, the Staple seriously submitted that they could not obtain the necessary bullion to contribute to the mint, owing to the ban on its export from Flanders, and such were the conditions of the times that their complaint was allowed, and the bullion act suspended.⁶

Small issues in silver certainly came from Calais down to about 1450, as is known from surviving examples, but during the troubled period of the Wars of the Roses, when Calais was the stronghold of Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, and the bastion of Yorkist power, it is almost certain that nothing was done at all, and we may further note that, when, in 1466, Edward IV, introducing a new scheme of financial organisation into the Pale, handed over all receipts therefrom to the Corporation for local administration, mint returns appear to have been not even worthy of mention among them.⁷

Under the wardenship of John Langstrother, Prior of the Order

¹ *Ruding*, ii, 256.

² *Devon, Issues of the Exchequer*, sub dat. 13th July, 1413.

³ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, v, 131.

⁴ See *Ruding*, ii, 256, 257.

⁵ *The same, and Privy Council Proceedings*, v, 283.

⁶ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, v, 219.

⁷ *Rolls of Parliament*, v, 613, § 9.

of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and John Delver, who were jointly appointed to the control of "the Tower Mint and the coinage of gold and silver in England and Calais" on the 24th of February, 1470, by Edward IV,¹ it is possible that the ryals of this reign attributed to Calais were struck. If so they were the last coins ever issued from Calais. The mint thenceforwards remained as a mere memory; foreign currencies passed in the Staple mart²; the garrison itself was paid at least in part, and sometimes wholly in Flemish,³ and we find a Staple merchant, in trouble, as in pre-Calesian days, in the matter of the foreign exchange, bemoaning his lot and looking back with regret at the times when the Calais mint flourished and no other coinage but its own was current in the town.⁴

ISSUES FROM THE CALAIS MINT.

As the regulations of the Calais mint invariably ordered the manufacture of coins identical in weight, value, and other particulars, with those of English-struck coins, the variations which serve to distinguish the Calais coin from its English prototype become matters of prime importance.

In the silver coins no difficulty is presented. The inner ring of the reverse bears the legend *VILLA CALESIE* or *VILLA CALISIE*⁵ in place of *CIVITAS LONDON*', thus placing the question beyond dispute.

The gold issues of Calais, however, for a long time defied detection. A few coins of Edward III and Henry VI were known, bearing in the centre of the cross on the reverse, a *ca* in place of the more usual letter of the issuing king, *a*, *r* or *h*, as the case might be. It was known that a few nobles, the first issue of Edward III had the letter *u* in this position, denoting that they were struck in London, and, by analogy, the coins bearing a *ca* were attributed to Calais.

¹ *Rymer*, xi, 698.

² *Cely Papers*, ed. Malden, Camden Soc., App. i, xlix-li.

³ *The same*, Lett. 86, p. 98: Lett. 87, p. 100, both of 1482.

⁴ *The same*, Lett. 6, p. 6, of 1478.

⁵ The former under Edward III: the latter under Henry V and Henry VI.

This hypothesis, at first received with doubt, is now generally accepted.¹

But if this initial were to be taken as the only distinguishing mark of Calesian gold coins, we should be left with a barren period extending from the "post-Bretigny" period of Edward III until the annulet coinage of Henry VI, of which no coins so marked are known. At the same time, it is believed that the London gold coins bearing the *u* are limited to the issue quoted above—in fact, that the vast majority of London coins bear no such mark—so that it has always been a likely assumption that many Calesian coins might be in existence and yet carry no *α*.

It was Mr. F. A. Walters who first presented a satisfactory solution to the problem.² He noticed that certain nobles and half-nobles bear, on the stern of the ship on the obverse of the coin, at the King's right hand, a small flag carrying the cross of St. George. This flag, "a very appropriate emblem for such an important over-sea outpost as Calais then was," is now accepted as the definite proof of the Calesian origin of nobles and half-nobles.

It will be seen, then, that the *α* mark is a secondary, though important, Calais mark. Its use, in fact, gives us three distinct types of Calesian gold coins: those with the *α* mark only, those with the *α* mark and the flag, and those with the flag but with the King's initial on the reverse. Of these three types the first two are very rare, while the third is fairly common.

EDWARD III.

Although Edward III established a mint at Calais almost immediately after the capture of the town, it seems probable that for some time nothing was coined there but pennies and their subdivisions.³ No gold or silver coin, in fact, is known from this mint

¹ Mr. G. C. Brooke in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1911, p. 319, on a find in Norfolk including 35 Calais nobles.

² "The Gold Coinage of Henry VI," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903, p. 296.

³ Dr. J. Bailhache on "The English Mint of Calais," in *Revue Numismatique*, 1917, reprinted by Messrs. Spink, p. 10, note 2.

of an earlier date than the treaty of Bretigny; all Calesian coins of the reign thus falling into the fourth coinage of that king. This period further sub-divides into two lesser periods, 1360-1369, the time of the duration of the truce, and 1369-1377. During the former of these smaller periods Edward dropped the title of King of France, but added those of Lord of Ireland and Aquitaine on his coins. In the latter period, after the resumption of hostilities, he replaced **REX FRANC**, while retaining **DNS HVB Z RQT**.

The Walters collection contained Calesian gold coins representative of each of these periods. For the first there was a noble and a half-noble, each of which had the flag on the obverse and **a** on the reverse. For the second there was one noble carrying the flag and the **a**, and another having the flag, but with the more usual **a** on the reverse. Both these latter coins show in their legends the resumption, by Edward, of the title of King of France.

It is doubtful whether any quarter-noble of this reign may rightfully be ascribed to Calais. It is a coin which cannot be subjected to the flag test, for where the nobles and half-nobles bear, on the obverse, the King in his ship, with sword in his right hand, and a shield, quartered with the arms of England and France in his left, the quarter-noble, on its obverse, carries only the shield. One such coin, however, inscribed **REX FRANC** only, has been attributed to the Calais Mint.¹

Silver coins representative of the reign of Edward III are not plentiful. What there are all fall within the period 1360-1369. The groat, half-groat and sterling were represented in the Walters collection, but no farthing is known.

RICHARD II.

The reign of Richard II lasted for twenty-two years, but so far as may be seen he found his mints but little work to do. Nevertheless, nobles and half-nobles were struck at Calais, bearing the

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1911, p. 18, note 1.

flag on the obverse and an **R** in the centre of the cross on the reverse.¹ These coins carry, on the obverse, the inscription : **RICHARD : DEI : GRAT : REX : ANGL' : DRS : HYB : S : PQVIT** and omit **FRANC'**.

So far as is known no silver coins were issued from Calais during this reign.²

HENRY IV.

It has been noticed that most of what little bullion was coined during this reign came to the mints during the period 1401 to 1404, after which nothing is recorded until the reform in the coinage, which took place in 1411. The best known coins of the heavy coinage are nobles, but only eight are known with certainty. Of these, two are from the Calais mint. The following is a description of a Calesian heavy noble of this reign :—

Obverse :—**HENRIC' : DI' : GRAT : REX : ANGL' : S : FRANC' : DRS' : HYB' : S : PQVT.** King in the ship with flag at the stern : the French arms on the shield are semé de lys ; three ropes from the stern and one from the prow : no mast ; a small open crown of three fleurs de lys placed perpendicularly between the stern of the ship and the inner beaded circle of the legend.

Reverse :—**✠HIC : PVTEM : TRANSIENS : PER : MEDIU' : ILLORVM : IBIT.** The usual cross fleury as on the nobles of Richard II, but with **h** in the centre.³

One Calesian heavy half-noble exists, of which the description is as follows :—

Obverse :—**HENRIC' : DI' : G' : REX : ANGL' : S : FRANC' : DI' : HI' : S : PQ.** King in the ship, with flag at the stern. French arms as before, semé de lys

¹ The Walters Catalogue : Nobles, Nos. 194, 195 ; half-noble, No. 199.

² Mr. Walters in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909, p. 177.

³ Mr. Walters in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905, p. 253. The coin is in the British Museum.

Reverse :— **DOMINVS : RE : IN : FVRORE : TVO : ARGVTS : ME.**

Mint-mark, open crown. Usual floriated cross with **h** in the centre. Weight $58\frac{1}{2}$ grains. No London specimens of this coin are known.

There is also in the National Collection a quarter-noble, reading :—

Obverse :— ***HENRIC' * DI' * GRAT' * REX : ANGL' * S * RRT' ***

There is nothing over the shield and no other special mark.

Reverse :—The usual inscription. Mint-mark, an open crown.

There is a pellet in the centre of the floriated cross.

Mr. Walters says that, so far as he is aware, this is the only quarter-noble of any reign that can, with any certainty, be assigned to the Calais Mint.

No Calesian gold coin of the light coinage is known to exist, and Mr. Walters considers it probable that no silver coins were struck in this reign in Calais.¹

HENRY V.

With Henry V begins the well-known "annulet coinage," that is to say, the coinage distinguished by annulets, or tiny rings, punched in various positions on the coins. On the noble, for instance, this mark will be found at the king's right hand on the obverse, and in the right uppermost spandril of the tressure on the reverse. On groats it appears on the reverse in the right upper and left lower sector of the inner circle, in the centre of the groups of three pellets, and it is further used as a mark to separate words in the inscriptions.

This annulet-mark, however, is common to the coins of Henry V and Henry VI, and again it has been left to Mr. Walters to discover some adequate means of distinguishing the coins of the two reigns. This he has done by making a careful comparison of the types of crosses which form the mint marks at the beginning of the legends on the obverse of these coins. These he found were of three distinct

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909, p. 177.

types, namely, the pierced cross of type one, which has practically straight arms, the pierced cross of type two, which has slightly curved arms, and the cross of type three, which has indented ends.

The distinctive marks of the coinage of Henry V are the pierced cross of type one, the mullet and the broken annulet.¹ The two other types of crosses belong to the coinages of Henry VI.

There is no Calesian gold coinage extant of this reign.

Silver coins, however, of the annulet coinage, with the pierced cross of the first type, and attributable to Henry V, are known in very small quantities. Farthings, however, are not found.

HENRY VI.

It has been seen that there are no Calesian silver coins known subsequent to the 1360-1369 period of the reign of Edward III, until we come to the annulet coinage which began in 1422 and went on well into this reign. It has further been noted that during this latter period Calais not only minted for the needs of her own trade, but also supplied England itself with probably a large proportion of the coin current in this country. An examination of the mint accounts published by Ruding supports these conclusions.² According to him, for the period 10 Henry V to the end of the reign of Henry VI, only 39,166 pounds' weight of silver was coined at London, while, in the same period, no less than 183,588 pounds' weight went through the Calais mint. The mint accounts are not complete, and there is a probability that the proportion of bullion coined at Calais was even greater than this.

More than one-third of this Calesian silver was issued from the mint during the first five and a-half years of the reign, which was during the period of the "annulet" coinage. Apparently there was a great decrease towards the middle of the reign in the amount of the output from Calais. But though they may be rare, nevertheless

¹ Mr. Walters in "The Silver Coinage of Henry VI," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902.

² See also Mr. Walters in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1911, pp. 19-21.

examples do remain to prove that the continental mint did not cease to work until quite the latter part of the reign. After the decline of the Calais mint the London mint resumed pre-eminence, and from about 1440 practically all silver money came from that source.

The silver issues of Henry VI fall into six distinct coinages, as follows :—

1. The ANNULET COINAGE, itself sub-dividing into three types, and covering the years 1422-1428.
2. The ROSETTE-MASCLE COINAGE, 1428-1433.
3. The PINE-CONE-MASCLE COINAGE, 1435-1440 or 1442.
4. The ROSE-LEAF-TREFOIL COINAGE, 1440- or 1442-1450.
5. The LEAF-AND-PELLET COINAGE, 1450-1459.
6. The CROSS-AND-PELLET COINAGE, 1459-1460.

The Calais Mint issued coins during all of these periods except the last, though in constantly decreasing quantities.

Class I.—THE ANNULET COINAGE.

Type 1.

When Goldbeter began work again, on the renewal of his indenture on the 16th of February, 1423, it would appear that he made a new set of dies, all carrying the pierced cross of type two, which Mr. Walters considers to be the distinguishing mark of the earliest coins of Henry VI. This new type of coin was issued from the mints at London, York, and Calais, but while examples from London and York are scarce, those from Calais are fairly common, comprising groats, half-groats, pennies and halfpennies. All these coins read **FRANCIA** in full, a form long considered by many to belong exclusively to coins of Henry V, but now proved by Mr. Walters, owing to the presence of the second type of the pierced cross, to belong to Goldbeter's first coinage for Henry VI.

Type 2.

This type is nearly identical with the first. The groats, however, read **πRGL'**, and the arch of the tressure on the breast of the figure on the obverse is not fleured. Examples from Calais are very rare.

Type 3.

Calesian examples of the third type of the annulet coinage are extremely common. The chief characteristics of the groats of this issue are as follows. The portrait of the King on the obverse has a more youthful appearance and the neck is smaller, and they carry the same pierced cross of the second type. The half-groats differ from their predecessors in that they have the reverse legend preceded by a plain cross, and the legend itself ends in **πDIVTORE MEVM** instead of **πDIVTORE' M**. This is the period of which Calais coins are so plentiful as to suggest that the overseas mint was supplying most of the wants of England. The suggestion is supported by the fact that we find two transitional types of Calesian "annulet" money of which there are no counterparts from London. These transitional coinages are :

i. The annulet-trefoil coinage.

Here the annulets still continue on each side of the King's neck on the obverse. Groats and half-groats retain the mark in one quarter only of the reverse, but on pennies the annulets continue in two quarters as before. The variation now introduced, which marks the transition, consists of a small trefoil, which, on groats and pennies, appears on the left side of the King's crown on the obverse, and after **POSVI** on the reverse, in the place of the former annulet.

ii. The earliest of the rosette coinages.

In this, the last variety of Calais annulet groats, the trefoil is omitted on the obverse, and a return is made to the original annulet design. On the reverse the annulet no longer appears, either between

the pellets in the quarters, or after **POSVI**. On the other hand, a pierced rosette of five foils is now found after the words **POSVI** and **ΑΠΛΙΣΙΑ**. Another sign by which this sub-division may be known is the spelling in full, on the half-groats, of the mint-name, for hitherto only **ΑΠΛΙΣ'** had been used.

Class 2.—THE ROSETTE-MASCLE COINAGE.

Coins of this class in general, and the groats in particular, show a variation in the King's bust, which is now larger, with a longer neck. Further, the diameter of groats of this and later issues is larger than that of the annulet series.

The rosette, in the last annulet issue, appeared only on the reverse. It is now found on the obverse also, between the words of the legend. Further, it is accompanied, on the Calais coins, by a new-mark, a mascle, or open lozenge. London issued coins of this series as well as Calais, but examples from the former mint are as rare as those from the latter are common. The rosette-mascle coinage divides into two types.

i. The first keeps the same mint-mark as the later annulet coins, that is to say, for groats, the pierced cross of type two. Calais groats have rosettes on the obverse after every word except **REX**, after which a mascle is found. On the reverse a rosette is placed after **POSVI** and **ΑΠΛΙΣΙΑ**, and a mascle between **VI** and **ΛΠ**.

Half-groats are exactly similar to the groats. On the pennies there is a rosette after **HENRICVS**, and a mascle after **REX**, on the obverse; and on the reverse, a mascle between **VI** and **ΛΠ**, and a rosette after **ΑΠΛΙΣΙΑ**. This is the only issue of which farthings are known, but they are very rare.¹

ii. The second type is distinguished by a change in the mint-

¹ London groats and half-groats of the first rosette-mascle type differ from those of Calais. They have neither rosettes nor mascles on the obverse, but on the reverse these are in the same position as on Calais coins. There is also a rosette after **POSVI** and **LONDON'**, and on groats there is a mascle before **LONDON'**.—*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902.

mark. The pierced cross now disappears, and for the first time we have the cross fleury. Except for this change Calais coins of this type are identical with those of the first. All values are known, and examples are common, except the halfpennies and farthings.

Class 3.—THE PINE-CONE-MASCLE COINAGE.

This is the last of the three really abundant coinages of the reign of Henry VI. The mascle is still found in the same positions as in the rosette-mascle issues, but the rosette is now replaced by a small object generally supposed to be a pine-cone. Calesian groats of this issue are common, but half-groats and pennies are rare.

The mint accounts given by Ruding and Mr. Walters are worthy of consideration at this point. The figures suggest a general falling off in output at both coining centres as the reign goes on, and for Calais it meant more than a mere period of depression. In 1437 we find petitions in Parliament deploring the decay of the mint; these are repeated in 1442, and after this date the overseas mint never regained its importance.

Class 4.—THE ROSE-LEAF-TREFOIL COINAGE.

The outstanding feature of this issue is a fairly large trefoil at each side of the King's neck, and a similar mark in the obverse legend, usually after **REX**, although it is sometimes placed at the end of the legend, and occasionally omitted altogether.

On the London groats this trefoil is sometimes placed after **LONDON**, but it is almost as often omitted.

It was long mistakenly thought that by this time the Calais mint has ceased to coin silver. Rare trefoil examples, however, do exist, three of which are in the National Collection.

On the Calais groats of this issue the trefoil is used more frequently than is the case on the London coins. Besides appearing at the sides of the King's neck, they occur, in the obverse legend, after **DI** and **GR**, though some examples bear the trefoil after **REX**

instead of after **GRAT**. On the reverse the trefoil sign appears between **VILL** and **LT** ; after **CLISIE** and after **TDIVTORE**.

In one instance the trefoil occurs after **VILLA** only, and in another it is found in the middle, instead of at the end of **CALISIE**. The groats from Calais read **ANG'**, instead of the **ANGL'** of the London mint.

Class 5.—THE LEAF AND PELLET COINAGE.

One coin only, a groat, and perhaps the last ever issued from the Calais mint, is ascribed by Mr. Walters to this period. It was probably one from the Stamford find of 1866, and its date is considered by him to lie between 1452 and 1454.

The sixth coinage of Henry VI, then, has no Calaisian examples remaining. A representation in the Parliament of 1465, "that for want of enforcing the Statutes relating to the Staple of Calais, the Mint there was like to stand void, desolate and to be destroyed" shows, in fact, that the process of decay, already referred to, was robbing the Calais mint of all but its name and its memories of former prosperity.

The Gold Coinage of Henry VI.

Mr. Walters classifies the gold coinage¹ of Henry VI on the same bases as he does the silver, except that the second type of the pierced cross of the silver annulet coinage is replaced, as a mint-mark, by a fleur-de-lys.

The mint accounts given by Ruding again serve to show the decay of the Calais mint. London, between the third and ninth year of Henry VI, coined 5,963 lbs. 7 ozs. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ dwts. of gold: Calais, between his second and sixth year, coined 2,834 dj. lbs. 9 ozs. 7 dwts., and between his sixth and ninth only 361 lbs. 3 ozs. 10 dwts., after which there is no further record of any gold coin coming from Calais. We may expect, however, to find examples from the Continent of the annulet and rosette-mascle gold coinages.

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903.

Class I.—*ANNULET COINAGE, GOLD.*

Accepting the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Walters, the bulk of the gold coinage of Henry VI falls into this class. On the nobles the usual inscriptions are :—

Obverse :— **HERRIC † DI' ∆ GRAT' ∆ REX ∆ ANGL' ∆ S ∆ FRATRO' ∆ DNS ∆ HYB'.**

Reverse :— **IES ✕ PVIT' ∅ TRANSIENS ∅ PER ∅ MEDIUM ∅ ILLORV' ∅ IBTT.** Mint-mark lys.

On the side of the ship are two lions and three lys, which are arranged in one of two ways, namely,

- a. Lion, two lys, lion, lys.
- b. Lys, lion, lys, lion, lys.

The general characteristics of this annulet gold coinage are :—

- i. Annulets at the King's wrist and in one spandril of the reverse tressure.
- ii. The fleur-de-lys mint-mark, which is, however, found in other coinages.
- iii. The mullet in the legend.

Calesian coins of this issue, though rare, do exist. The distinguishing mark is still the flag on the nobles and half-nobles. Some carry the **a** in the centre of the cross on the reverse, in addition to the flag. The half-nobles are identical with the nobles, except for the variation in the legend on the reverse. The quarter-nobles of this issue vary in some details. All read :—

Obverse :— **HERRIC † DI' ∆ GRAT' ∆ REX ∆ ANGL'.** Mint-mark lys. But, rarely, **DEI** occurs.

Reverse :— **EXPLTATBITVR ✕ IN ∅ GLORIA.** Mint-mark a lys, and there is a lys in the centre of the floriated cross. But the mint-marks on the obverse vary. They may be :—

- a. One lys over the shield.
- b. Two lys together over the shield.
- c. One lys over the shield and one at each side.

Mr. Walters ascribes the first mark to London, the second to Calais and the third to York.

Class 2.—THE ROSETTE-MASCLE COINAGE, GOLD.

Examples of this class are much rarer in general than even the rarest of the annulet series. Nevertheless, nobles, half-nobles, and even quarter-nobles, do exist. On the nobles and half-nobles the annulet at the king's wrist disappears, and its place is taken by a fleur-de-lys. The annulet on the reverse, in the right upper spandril of the tressure, gives way to a lys at the head of the lion in the right upper quarter. Generally rosettes occur after every word, but one, in the inscriptions on both obverse and reverse. In the case where the rosette is not found, its place is taken by a mascle.

A few nobles and half-nobles of this class carry the flag and are assigned to Calais. In all probability they are the last gold coins that were struck at that mint.

EDWARD IV.¹

Whether any coins were struck at Calais during this reign is a matter of great doubt. In 1463 a statute was enacted, in consequence of a petition from the Commons, forbidding the sale of wool, etc., at the Calais Staple save for ready money, one half in lawful coin of England, or plate, or bullion of silver or gold; and that all the plate and bullion be carried into the mint at Calais, there to be coined. It has been generally assumed that nothing came of this regulation, but Mr. Walters, judging from the great similarity which exists between a special great seal of Edward IV, presumably for use in France, and some of his gold coins, has come to the conclusion that quite possibly some of the coins of this king may be assigned to Calais. These coins are the ryal, half-ryal, and quarter-ryal, coins which, in 1465, replaced the noble and its divisions.

These coins² have the sun or crown mint-marks; the ryal has

¹ See "The Coinage of Edward IV," by Mr. F. A. Walters, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909, 176-177.

² See The Walters Sale Catalogue, Nos. 378 and 386.

a lys over the sail of the ship ; the half-ryal a lys in the waves under the ship, and the quarter-ryal a lys between each word of the inscription on one or both sides. If this assumption is true, then the Calais mint enjoyed a period of revival in this reign, but it was only for a short period. No coins are even suggested as Calaisian after the ryal.

Specie and bullion regulations.

The regulation that only money coined in Calais was to be current in the town, was the first instrument designed to force foreign specie into the mint, while it had the further object of checking any export of the precious metals from England. It was renewed on the 10th of May, 1363, in a writ to the Mayors and Aldermen, who were charged to see to its strict observance by all.¹

But these ordinances met with little favour from the merchants trading in Calais, for, apart from the fact that the mint charges represented a dead loss to them, the indefinite time during which a large portion of their working capital remained idle in the mint was a most annoying hindrance to trade, and prevented a further access of profit until such capital was released. The ordinance, therefore, was ignored as much as possible, so that, on the 6th of June, a further writ was addressed to the Mayors and Aldermen, stating that in spite of the writ of the 10th of May,

certain people, by means of the subtle exchange of money, as well that of our Realm of England as that from other places, with the money made in our Town of Calais are scheming to infringe our ordinance aforesaid, to our damage and that of the whole Realm.

Once again the Corporation was enjoined to forbid such practices by proclamation, and to warn all concerned that the King was about to appoint examiners of all money used in Calais, with powers to

¹ *Rymer*, 3, ii, 699.

break in two all foreign money they found; this new provision to come into force eight days after the proclamation was made.¹

Four days afterwards, Thomas de Brantingham, the Treasurer, and Henry de Brisele, the Master of the Mint, were commissioned to act as chiefs of a body of inspectors to be appointed by them for this purpose, with instructions to leave unbroken to no one more foreign money than would suffice as reasonable travelling expenses to his destination.²

On the 22nd of February, 1364, a writ was issued forbidding the usury in Calais.³

The rest of the financial enactments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries took the form of renewals of previous ordinances, with some new regulations calculated to increase the volume of trade passing through the mint.

To whatever degree the edicts of the 10th of May and the 6th of June, 1363, were efficient in checking temporarily the use of foreign money in Calais for purposes of trade, they did not ensure such an increase in the use of Calesian money as the King had expected, because merchants, to avoid the expenses of coining, and the enforced idleness of their capital, had extended their credit trade. The system was, therefore, employed of enforced contributions in specie or bullion to the mint upon every sale of Staple goods made in Calais.

The first writ to the Calais Corporation ordering such contribution was issued on the 1st of March, 1364. By way of justification of the new regulation which it imposed, reference was made to the days before the Staple was established in Calais, when English merchants suffered through receiving payment in an enfeebled foreign coinage, which would be called down on exchange.

Attention was drawn to the advantages which the King had conferred by the establishment of the Staple and the foundation of a mint with a respectable currency, while the growing custom of

¹ *Rymer*, 3, ii, 704.

² *The same*, 705.

³ *The same*, 724.

making credit sales with the purpose of avoiding mint charges was strongly deprecated.

Then followed the ordinance

That every man, merchant, or other, of whatever rank he be, who buys in the said town wool or other merchandise whatsoever, convey, or cause to be conveyed to our mint, of each sack of wool of full weight, and of all other merchandise in proportion sold in the town of Calais, or taken out therefrom, five shillings by weight in fine gold, or other bullion of gold or silver, to the value of five shillings of fine gold ; and that sufficient surety be taken, under the supervision of our Treasurer and the Master of our Mint, and before you, the aforesaid Mayors and Aldermen, of all merchants who buy wool or other merchandise in the said town.¹

A similar writ was addressed to the Commission which, at the time, was enquiring into the conduct of the Calais Corporation, with a further injunction to them to see that the Corporation put the order into effect.

This regulation guaranteed to the mint a steady trade to a certain limit, but it by no means ensured the absorption of all foreign money coming into Calais, for even yet, traders seem to have preferred to run the risk of dealing with the money-changers—and it must be remembered here that the mint bought foreign coin as metal, taking no account, as the money-changer would, of its token value in its own country.

Partly to secure the now familiar object of drawing trade to the mint, and partly to secure to the King his monopoly in the profits on coining, by checking private profits in the money market, a writ was issued on the 26th July, 1365, to Le Scrope and the Corporation of Calais, forbidding any exchanges of money “ except only with well-known merchants, and that solely for the needs of trade.”²

It has been seen that during the reign of Richard II the Calais

¹ *Rymer*, 3, ii, 725.

² *The same*, 773.

mint was almost dormant. In consequence, what bullion acts were passed, namely, that of 1379¹ and that of 1397², refer to the feeding of the Tower Mint in London.

The strictest limit to which this principle of enforced contribution to the mint was pushed is seen in 1429, when the Ordinance of the Partition was enacted, originally for three years only, but actually maintained indefinitely. This ordinance contained five clauses which regulated the sale of wool and other Staple goods. The third, which dealt with the mint, read :

That the bullion be brought to the mint at Calais ; that is to say, for every sarpler of wool whereof the weight of the sack is sold for twelve marks, six pounds ; for ten marks, five pounds ; for six marks, four pounds. And for the wool-fells after the weight, to be forged into the King's coin.³

The Calais bullion regulations were most unpopular because they were obstructive. They were also often very difficult to comply with even by the most law-abiding merchants, by reason of the views on the export of bullion held by princes other than the King of England. These considerations are quite frequently put forward in Parliament, and perhaps most clearly and reasonably of all occasions in 1397, when, although, as it appears in the petition, a certain amount of work was being done at Calais, and bullion had to be taken there in accordance with previous acts, new obligations to the Tower Mint were enforced in addition. It was submitted to Richard that

Although you have a Master of your mint in your town of Calais, and although bullion and foreign gold brought to the town for the purchase of wool and other merchandise goes into his hands to be coined into your money, from which you derive the same profit by way of seignorage as you do

¹ *Rymer*, iv, 62.

² *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 340.

³ *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 254.

from that which is made in your Tower of London . . . your petitioners are charged to bring bullion for such merchandise to your Tower of London. . . Furthermore, most mighty Sir, where different merchants from different parts of your realm, shipping wool to your said Staple, one ten sacks, another twenty sacks, were wont, after the sale thereof, to pass by sea to their country, now they must come to London for the sake of ten or twenty ounces of bullion, and there wait until it has been struck into money of your coin, whereby they expend all the profit of their merchandise, or more. . . Furthermore, the officers of the Duke of Burgundy, in his country of Flanders, noting your ordinance, will not suffer any man to carry bullion out of, nor through the country of Flanders towards the said town of Calais, nor elsewhere, on pain of the forfeiture thereof, and in this behalf strait search is made on every road and byway of the country, so that no merchant ever dares to adventure his money towards the said Staple for fear of losing it, to the great detriment of the Staple. And oftentimes the gold of them who do venture thither through the country of Flanders, as well strangers as your lieges, is taken as forfeit by these officers, so that your petitioners can in no wise obtain bullion to fulfil your ordinance . . . These causes together with the fear of the penalty prescribed in the said ordinance, restrain the Fellowship of Merchants of your realm, so that they dare not buy nor ship wools while the ordinance is in force, to the great damage and detriment of your customs and lowering of the price of wool in your realm.¹

No official relief was granted to the unfortunate Staplers; but the ordinance was retained, and, as has been seen, was strengthened by the Ordinance of Partition thirty-two years later. It was left to the merchant to evade the letter of the law as best

¹ *Rolls of Parliament*, iii, 369.

he might—he probably did so, and the abandonment of the idea of maintaining the mint at Calais by Edward IV was possibly by way of being a tardy governmental admission that the Staplers in their contentions had been right all the time, the system wrong, and only capable of being supported under exceptionally favourable trade conditions.

ENGLISH PIEDFORTS AND THEIR PURPOSES.

BY L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

IT is possible that the above title may be unintelligible to some readers, so that something of a definition may be advisable to make the subject clear. The poverty of our numismatic language has rendered necessary the use of this French word. The present meaning is "heavy measure," and it was applied by the French to certain coin-like pieces which were larger and heavier than coins intended for currency. We use the word in a slightly different sense, to imply only a difference in weight.

An English piedfort is, therefore, a piece struck from coin dies, but of much greater weight, though the diameter remains the same as the coin. It consequently follows that the thickness must be considerably increased. Very little is known about these pieces or their uses, and so I have thought it might prove useful to make a list of them in the hope that by so doing some interest in them may be created and that study of them may result in making their uses better understood.

All the English piedforts that I know of date from between 1280 and, let us say, 1500. They are as follows:—

1. Edward I Lincoln penny, class IIIc; weight, 64 grains; very fine. L. A. L.
2. London halfpenny, class VII; 27·5 grains. L. A. L.
3. London halfpenny, class X; 30 grains. Montagu. L. A. L.
4. London halfpenny, class X; weight, 26·7 grains; fine. B. M.
5. London halfpenny, class X; reading ANGLI; weight, 31·2 grains; worn. B. M.

6. London halfpenny, class doubtful ; weight, 31 grains ;
Montagu and Murdoch collections.
7. Edward I London farthing, class X ; weight, 24·1 grains ;
very fine, B. M.
8. Edward II Canterbury penny, class XI ; weight, 66 grains ;
worn. B. M.
9. Edward II Canterbury penny, class XI or later ; weight
81 grains ; very worn. L. A. L.
10. Edward II Canterbury penny, class doubtful ; weight,
86 grains ; very worn. L. A. L.
11. Edward III London half-groat, Roman M. ; weight, 320·5
grains. L. A. L. This piedfort has a long pedigree.
12. Henry V London groat, mullet on shoulder type ; weight,
308·8 grains ; worn. B. M.
13. Henry V London penny, mullet and broken annulet at
sides of crown ; weight, 56·8 grains ; worn. B. M.
14. Henry VI Calais groat, trefoil coinage ; weight, 169·7
grains ; somewhat worn. B. M.
15. Henry VI Calais half-groat, annulet coinage ; weight, 185
grains ; somewhat worn. B. M.
16. Henry VI Calais penny, pinecone and mascle coinage ;
weight, 58·6 grains ; holed and somewhat worn. B. M.
- 16A. Henry VI Calais penny, pinecone and mascle coinage ;
weight, 55·1 grains ; worn. B. M.
17. Henry VI York penny, cross and pellet coinage ; weight,
60 grains ; worn. L. A. L.
18. Edward IV York penny, of Archbishop Booth ; weight,
76·1 grains ; fine. B. M.
19. Henry VII Canterbury half-groat, arched crown ; weight,
129 grains ; fine. L. A. L.

All these pieces are of good silver, and these twenty specimens here described are all that I know of. Except for the thickness, they are exactly like the coins they represent. Perhaps they are more truly circular than coins, but this can be explained by the

fact that there was no necessity to adjust the weights of them after they were struck. It will be noticed, first, that there is no relation between the weight of the piedfort and that of the coin it represented, and where there are two piedforts of the same denomination of about the same period, there is considerable difference between the weights of the piedforts themselves ; thus piedforts of the Canterbury pennies vary from 86 to 66 grains, though the 66-grain coin is in better condition than the worn 81 and 86-grain pieces. In the same way the Calais half-groat weighs 185 grains, against the groat of 169.7 grains.

Special attention is called to these weights in order to show that these English piedforts could never have been intended for currency. If not for currency, for what purpose were they struck ? This is perhaps a difficult question to answer. They have been called patterns and proofs. If they are to be regarded as such, then we must consider these patterns and proofs as something quite different from the meaning nowadays of the terms. Patterns now suggest to us something different in design from the current coin. The piedforts are as much like the current coin as are two coins ; indeed, as far as the half-groat of Edward III goes, I have been able to find the reverse from the same die on a half-groat in the National Collection, and in Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton's collection recently dispersed was the obverse of the piedfort. So that patterns, as we now know them, they are not. Proofs of a die in the same way as an early impression from a print plate, they may be, but they are not specially prepared articles for the public.

If they were die proofs, just to see what the work looked like when struck from the die, why the extraordinary thickness and the use of relatively such an amount of valuable metal when a thin piece would probably have shown the impress better ? The suggestion that I put forward is that these English piedforts were made—firstly, to satisfy the engraver of the dies that his work was what he intended it to be ; and secondly, for the use of workers of dies in the mint workshops, to show them what the chief engraver intended them to copy. It is a significant fact that nearly all the later pieces

and many of the earlier ones bear names other than that of London. To some of these places we know that irons were sent, not dies. Irons could not have been of much use for striking a uniform coinage throughout the country if the workers had not a pattern to work to. For this purpose a thin proof would have been of less use, and it might at any time have been mistaken for an ordinary coin. The thickness, however, of the piedfort would have been something of a safeguard.

Therefore if these thick pieces had been made for this purpose, we might have expected that they would have been the last word in accuracy. So they are, with one exception, namely, the trefoil groat of Calais. On this piece the **o** of **πDIVTORE** is omitted. At first sight this looks like a serious objection to use as a working pattern, but it may not be as serious as it looks. No doubt the prominent mint authorities knew quite well the spelling of each word of the legend—it had been the same on the coins for a century—but there is another explanation. The absence of the letter may have been the privy mark for the pyx trial. I am a great believer in the accuracy of the manufacture of our English coins, and when I see an apparent blunder repeated on a number of different dies it suggests to me not carelessness of work but intent. If mint masters had to find a method of secret marking, different every three months, they must sometimes have found it difficult, while keeping the coinage uniform, to invent a fresh system of secret marks.

How else can we explain **EDW7TD** and **EDV7RD** on many different dies of Edward III? when even the annulet stops were so carefully placed between the words that sometimes a difficulty is found in differentiating two dies. These piedforts have also been described as the standards which were ordered to be delivered to the various mints for assay purposes. The standards, however, must have been for different purposes, as the weights of them were ordered. For London the value was 40 shillings and for the provincial mints 10 shillings. These standards must, therefore, have been much heavier than any piedforts. Some later standards are preserved in the mint, and those I have seen are large

sheets of gold with a small impress of a coin in one corner and little pieces have been cut out from time to time for assay purposes when the coins were made. Looking to what I have been able to ascertain, I think the working pattern idea a reasonable one, but I am quite open to any suggestion which will better explain these curious heavy pieces. I should be grateful for a suggestion of a good English word which could be used in place of the French "piedfort," and I should further welcome any description of similar pieces in the ownership of our members or others.

POSTSCRIPT.—If my views as to the uses of these strange pieces are correct, a possible reason for the great rarity of them may be that when the coinage of which they were the patterns was finished, those, with the dies and the irons, were returned and scrapped. The few that remain to us now may have been appropriated or have been lost. It is difficult otherwise to account for their presence with us now.

Since going to press I have found one more piedfort :—

20. Henry VIII Durham penny, **α D** at sides of shield, mint-mark star ; weight, 44·7 grains ; fine. B. M.

AN UNPUBLISHED VARIETY OF GROAT OF THE FIRST COINAGE OF HENRY VIII.

BY RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON.

THE groat to which I would draw the attention of the members of the Society, may be described as follows :—

Obverse.—Mint-mark Portcullis crowned over **z** crowned.
hENRIC^o × VIII^o × DI^o × GR^o × REX × ANGL^o × Z × RR^o, usual profile-type bust.

Reverse.—Mint-mark Portcullis crowned. **POSVI**, etc.
Ornamented slipped trefoils in the forks of the cross.




This groat is in my collection. Mr. H. A. Parsons has also a groat with obverse from the same die as my coin, but with the reverse of the ordinary Tower type without the ornamented trefoils in the forks of the cross. Mr. J. Shirley-Fox also has a groat exactly similar to that of Mr. Parsons.

I think the alteration of the mint-mark on the obverse of these three groats and the feature of the slipped trefoils in the forks of the

cross on the reverse of my coin—the latter, I believe, a feature quite unknown to coins of the period—may possibly be accounted for by assuming that the dies from which my groat was struck were originally prepared for Henry's "English type" of coinage at Tournai. I suggest as a possibility that this pattern may have been approved, and even a number of dies prepared, before it was decided to adopt another pattern. This other pattern to which the Tournai groats belong, as also the half-groat of the "English type" from the same mint of which we know, has the French title preceding the English in the obverse legend, as upon the earlier Tournai coinages of Henry VIII of "French type" and probably workmanship, and the mint name on the reverse. Upon such a change of design being decided upon, the obverse dies already prepared of the discarded type were, I suggest, impressed with the current mint-mark in use at the Tower and made for economy's sake to serve for the English coinage. I believe that my groat is a true coin and that the mint-mark, portcullis crowned on the reverse, which is unaltered, was originally intended to appear in conjunction with the mint-mark τ crowned. The unique feature of the decorated trefoils in the forks of the reverse cross shows that the die was prepared for some special coinage. The τ crowned was, no doubt, a badge assumed by Henry VIII subsequently to his capture of Tournai in 1513.


It may be that the combination of these two marks, the portcullis crowned and τ crowned, was to show that the coin was of Tournai, and that it was struck actually at the Tower, the portcullis crowned being the current mint-mark there.

The use of the latter mark would have had a secondary purpose also for purposes of the pyx trials. For at that date it could not be known how long Tournai was to remain in the king's hands as security for the indemnity fixed by the treaty of 1514 with France, and perhaps the proposal was, that with the assumption of each new mint-mark at the Tower, it was to be used on the reverse with the τ crowned mint-mark on the obverse, on Tournai coins. Without some such conjectures as the above it is difficult to account for the peculiar features occurring on this coin.

The reason for subsequently changing the pattern to that finally adopted for the Tournai coins of "English type" may have been that the  crowned badge was but little known, and that it was thought desirable to make the place of emanation of these pieces more generally understandable by employing the mint-name on the reverse, as had been formerly the practice upon the two earlier issues of "French type."

JAMES I CROWNS—NEW DISCOVERIES.

BY GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President.*

 HE crowns with the mint-mark rose have always hitherto been attributed to the year 1605, and, although silver coins of all the other denominations have been definitely assigned to the year 1621, when the rose mint-mark was reintroduced, it has not previously been possible to point to a crown-piece of James I which could be proved to belong to the last-named year. This I hope to be able to do in this short note by the evidence it contains.

The monograph on "The English Silver Coins of James I," read before the Society on June 26th, 1907, by Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.,¹ will long remain the "classic" on those issues, and numismatists owe no small debt of gratitude to him for elucidating many doubtful points in the confusion which has always existed in distinguishing some coins issued as early as 1604, from others with similar mint-marks struck as late as 1621-23.

Colonel Morrieson was himself doubtful as to the existence of crowns which it has been my privilege to discover since his paper was published, and in giving details and illustrations of these coins, I do so with every acknowledgment, as without the guidance of his paper I should almost certainly have considered them as merely specimens of the usual issues, and the significance of their minor deviations therefrom, and the facts they establish would, so far as I am concerned, have been overlooked.

Students of this period, and of Colonel Morrieson's work relating

¹ Printed in vol. iv of the *Journal*, pp. 165-178.

thereto, will remember that he divided the issues of James I into three periods, namely :—

First Period.—Coins bearing the reverse legend EXVRGAT · DEVS · DISSIPENTVR · INIMICI · issued in 1603 and 1604.

Second Period.—Coins with similar obverses, but with the new legend adopted upon the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland under one king, QVAE · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·, issued from 1604 to 1619 inclusive.

Third Period.—Coins with similar obverses, but with the minor varieties in the abbreviations of the King's titles—BRI · for BRIT · being the principal of these—and especially in the abbreviation marks to those titles on the obverse, also having no pellets between the words of the legend of the reverse. This series was issued from August 20th, 1619, to the end of the reign in 1624.

With regard to the crown with the mint-mark thistle, Colonel Morrieson wrote as follows¹ :—

“ As regards the thistle mint-mark, the late Mr. H. Montagu, in his article in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series X, p. 273, states that he had a specimen, which I presume was Lot 191 in his sale catalogue, 3rd portion, but I must say that I am very doubtful if any coins of this second period were struck with this mint-mark.”

In the same paper Colonel Morrieson illustrates a crown with mint-mark rose, as Plate I, Fig. 3, which belongs to the second period and to the mint-mark of 1605, as explained in his description of the plates.

The coin with this mint-mark, which I now illustrate as Fig. 2, belongs, as I trust presently to prove, to the much later mint-mark of 1620, and therefore it will be necessary to extend the series of

¹ Vol. iv, *British Numismatic Journal*, p. 167.

crowns of the second period, to which this undoubtedly belongs, at least down to and to include a few coins with the mint-mark thistle, which were issued after June 28th, 1621; thus showing that the issue of these crowns of the second period was prolonged after that with the mint-mark grapes in 1607, for a period fourteen years longer than has hitherto been recognised.



FIG. 1.

In June, 1913, I was fortunate enough to acquire a crown with the mint-mark thistle at the dispersal of a small collection of coins from the "Dash" Cabinet, and Colonel Morrieson's *Silver Coins* enabled me to recognise it as being of the second period. I sent it to the author for his opinion, and cannot do better than give his conclusions here in his own words:—"This is certainly one of the first of the QVAE DEVS coins, second period, with mint-mark thistle. It is the only one I have ever seen, though I expect No. 191, Montagu Sale, November, 1896, was similar. The question now arises in what year was this crown coined? The trial of the pyx on May 22nd, 1604, was of the coins with mint-mark thistle, but these were EXVRGAT coins of the first issue.

"The next mint-mark was the lys, and it was during this mint-mark, towards the close of 1604, that the QVAE DEVS legend, second period, was introduced, and on June 20th, 1605, the trial of the pyx for this mint-mark took place. There is apparently no

mention of any coins with the mint-mark thistle being included ; from this I assume that no coins with the mint-mark thistle could have been issued at that time.

" This then brings us to the second thistle of 1621-23, and I expect we shall find that your crown was coined in 1621, the very earliest with that mint-mark."

The coin passed from my possession in the sale of my later coins early in 1920, and unfortunately the cast of the reverse of the coin was broken when in the cataloguer's hands, but is still sufficiently clear to show the characteristics of the mint-mark and die. I therefore offer illustrations of this rare coin, from the casts used for the plate in my own sale catalogue.

That Colonel Morrieson was right in his conclusions as regards the thistle mint-mark, which are given above, is now evident, and it becomes possible to separate the two issues with the rose mint-mark, and to differentiate between them as " mint-mark rose, 1605," and " mint-mark seeded rose, 1620."

With regard to the crown of the second period with the mint-mark rose, Colonel Morrieson exhibited and illustrated¹ a specimen which clearly belongs to this period, and was struck in 1605, and so far as he or I was then aware this was the only variety of the crown with this mint-mark that had been issued, though the pyx records gave a crown with mint-mark rose as " tried " in 1621 ; and in his " Further Notes on the Silver Coins of James I,"² Colonel Morrieson writes with reference to the publication of Mr. Henry Symonds' notes on the pyx trials, published in the same volume, " There is nothing new in this denomination—namely, crowns—except the additions of the mint-marks coronet, and rose of 1621," and remarks, " Mr. Symonds tells us what coins were minted, whereas my object is to show what are known. Since the date of my first paper various coins not mentioned in it have been discovered, and doubtless in time

¹ Vol. iv, *British Numismatic Journal*, " English Silver Coins of James I." Plate I, fig. 3.

² Vol. ix, pp. 229-233.

those still unknown, and which I have marked with the letter P in the table, will be found."

One such "find" I have now the pleasure to record in this note, and the crown with the mint-mark "seeded rose" of 1621 must now be added to the list.



FIG. 2.

This coin was the property of our member, Mr. W. B. Thorpe, whose coins I was privileged to prepare for sale and write a "foreword" upon. It was sold soon after its exhibition to the Society on October 26th, 1921, and it is similar to that to which I have previously referred, except in its mint-mark, which is a much larger rose than that of 1605, and is of the seeded variety common to all the denominations of the smaller coins, which in the case of the sixpence was dated in 1620-21.

In 1605 the mint-mark rose succeeded the lys, which had previously succeeded the thistle of 1604, and therefore obviously the thistle could not have been struck over the rose in this issue.

But if the illustrations of the two coins which accompany this note are examined, it will be obvious that both were struck from the same dies, and that on both obverse and reverse the thistle mint-mark was struck over some other mint-mark.

Now in 1621 we know that the thistle succeeded the rose of 1620, and these two coins can therefore be very clearly and definitely attributed. Mr. Thorpe's coin¹ with the seeded rose is a crown with

¹ Fig. 2, on this page.

the mint-mark of June 23rd, 1620, and my own crown with the mint-mark thistle¹ was from the same die overstruck with the thistle mint-mark of June 28th, 1621, and therefore, as stated by Colonel Morrieson, "the very earliest of this mint-mark."

A further interesting fact emerges from these findings, namely, that all crowns with the mint-mark seeded rose of 1620 belong to the *second* period, and not the third period, in which Colonel Morrieson's table placed them, though he recorded no specimen; and further, that crowns with the mint-mark thistle of 1621 were issued with the characteristics of *both* second and third periods, as is shown by my coin, Figure 1, and by a coin in Colonel Morrieson's own cabinet.²

Thus the second period crowns must be continued down to and including a few coins with mint-mark thistle, issued after June 28th, 1621.

On the exhibition of this coin to the Society on October 26th, 1921, Colonel Morrieson wrote me: "The obverse of your thistle crown, as you have said, is from the same die as the obverse of Mr. Thorpe's coin with the mint-mark altered. What you have discovered is the missing crown of the second rose mint-mark mentioned in the pyx records. It is one that I have long been looking for, and I congratulate you on finding it."

¹ Fig. 1, on p. 125.

² Vol. iv, *British Numismatic Journal*, "English Silver Coins of James I," Plate I, fig. 3.

THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46.

BY LT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

AFTER the battle of Edgehill on the 20th October, 1642, Charles I proceeded to Oxford, where he was most loyally received. He did not stay here long, but moved towards London, in the hope that he might regain it ; but this hope was doomed to disappointment, for his army, being checked at Brentford, constrained him to retreat. The winter had now commenced, so he returned to Oxford, where he fixed his headquarters—an arrangement that continued till his surrender to the Scots at Newark in May, 1646. Shortly after settling down there the King, on the 15th December, issued a proclamation establishing a Mint, and directed Thomas Bushell, the Warden of the Mint at Shrewsbury, to join him, and to bring his establishment with him. Bushell arrived on the 3rd January, 1642-43, and started his Mint in New Inn Hall, which had been allotted to him for that purpose. The reason for this allotment was that at the commencement of the civil war the students, who were Puritans, suddenly fled, and the place was deserted. This Hall and that of Magdalen, whose members were also of this persuasion, were then commonly styled “the two nests of Precisians and Puritans.”¹ Bushell was now joined by Sir William Parkhurst, the Warden of the Mint at the Tower since 1625, who, when that establishment had been seized by the Parliament in 1641, had fled to follow the fortunes of his royal master. Bushell found that this joint Mint had increased in importance, and much more work was required of it. The King lost no time in seeking for bullion, and, on the 6th January, three days after the

¹ James Ingram, *The Memorials of Oxford*, p. 183.

arrival of the Mint, issued a circular letter to the various Colleges requesting them to lend him their plate, to be repaid at the rate of 5s. the ounce for white, and 5s. 6d. for gilt plate, "as soon as God shall enable us." The response to this appeal was both prompt and generous, for by the 20th January twelve Colleges had delivered to the Wardens 1,610 lbs. 1 oz. 8 dwts., and others followed suit later.¹ Bushell was now called upon to strike money in gold; presumably some authority must have been given for this, but up to the present none has been forthcoming. He may, perhaps, have overcome the difficulty by terming the coins medals, as he had done in the previous October, when the silver pound, half-pound, and crown were issued.²

There may be another solution of this problem, for, as Sir William Parkhurst was the titular Warden of the Tower Mint, it may not have been considered necessary to issue any further warrant, as he, by his original indentures, was entitled to strike in gold. At any rate, the treble unite must be reckoned as a medal with a current monetary value.

The denominations in this standard were the treble unite, unite, and double-crown or half-unite. There was a liberal issue of these pieces in 1643, but as the fortunes of the King waned, so did the production of these coins decrease.

Bushell appears to have remained at Oxford till the autumn of 1643, when he moved to Bristol, which had been taken by the Royalists in August of that year; he still, however, continued as joint Warden of the Oxford Mint, which was worked under his letters patent.

The time during which the Mint worked at Oxford may be divided into three periods, namely—First, from January, 1642, to Bushell's departure to Bristol in the autumn of 1643; Second, from that date till the introduction of the word OX on the coins, which took place before the end of 1643; and Third, from then

¹ Dr. Nelson, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 186-188.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, p. 196.

till the Mint ceased working on 24th June, 1646, when the city surrendered to the Parliamentary forces. The coins struck during the first period bear a strong resemblance to those of Shrewsbury, the majority of the dies being probably by the same engraver. There is a great improvement in the equestrian figure of the King on those engraved in 1643, the principal variant being that in the latter year the near hind leg is raised instead of the off. The shillings, as well as the later gold coins, seemed to have been designed by another artist. There is also a die for the silver pound which is attributed to Rawlins. The coins of 1642 have a different plume from those struck at Shrewsbury, that of Oxford having bands, while the other is without.¹

The second period is marked by the introduction of a different equestrian figure of the King. This figure is much smaller, and is somewhat similar to that on the Tower Briot half-crowns, and from this likeness I shall refer to it as the "Briot horse." The third period has this same horse, but the lettering is different, particularly in the R, which has its lower serif prolonged backwards and curling up at the end, so that it has the appearance of "R B" in monogram (Plate IV, 53). The letters "OX" now appear on the reverse of the coins.

THE GOLD COINS.

The gold coins having been written about so lately by Dr. Nelson in his paper, *The Gold Coins issued from the Mint at Oxford, 1642-1646*,² I do not propose to describe them now, but at some later time they will have to be taken in hand to bring them into conformity with my present paper.

THE SILVER COINS.

The silver coins are very numerous, there being, I imagine, something like between 150 and 200 varieties. The plan adopted at Shrewsbury of having a number of obverse and reverse dies, and

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, p. 196.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 183 *et seq.*

using them haphazard, as pointed out in my paper, "The Coins of the Shrewsbury Mint, 1642,"¹ was pursued at Oxford, and I purpose following the same manner in describing them, and shall enumerate the obverses by the letters of the alphabet and the reverses by numerals, with a series for each year, namely, a coin, say a half-crown, labelled 1643, C.3, means that the piece has the obverse C and the reverse 3, dated 1643. It will be found that as a rule only one die of each variety was made, and it was used until it became worn out. Occasionally, however, more than one was made which answers to a general description, but they can be distinguished from one another either by the legend not starting at the same spot, or by the position of the declaration in the field and similar small diversities. Those that I have come across I have noted.

Another point to be noted is the rarity of any mules between the coins of the first and second periods. I account for this partially by the suggestion that when Thomas Bushell left Oxford for Bristol, in the late summer or autumn of 1643, he took some of these first period dies with him, as they are found muled with the earliest Bristol types. The coins are very similar to those issued at Shrewsbury, differing only in plumes and date.

In the first two years, 1642 and 1643, that is, 1643 new style, the largest output of money took place. This may be accounted for by the quantity of bullion the King obtained from the Colleges at Oxford, and from loyal subjects who willingly surrendered their plate for this object. Some of the City companies followed suit, and one, the Barber Surgeons, gave up its celebrated cup given to it by Henry VIII. Luckily for posterity, Mr. Edward Arris, a member of the Court and a well-known surgeon of his day, strongly disapproved of this transaction, and having secured the cup by purchase, eventually restored it to the Corporation, a kindly action which is very much appreciated by the present members of that body. Mr. Edward Arris's memory is still commemorated in the Royal College of Surgeons by the Arrisian Lecture. The abnormal size of this coinage

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, p. 197.

is exemplified by the number of large silver coins, pounds, half-pounds, and crowns, which, with the exception of two pounds, 1643 C.2, and 1644 A.1, and one crown, 1644 A.1, all belong to the first period. I have already remarked that the same occurred with the gold coins.

There is a decided falling off in the workmanship displayed on the coins struck in the year before the Mint ceased working, presumably an echo of the failing fortunes of the King.

POUNDS.

After the arrival of the Mint at Oxford in January, 1642, the only alteration in the dies from those used at Shrewsbury was the addition of bands to the plume in the field of the obverse and reverse, and the substitution of a plume for the pellets as a mint-mark. There was also introduced on one particular die a new horseman on a very much larger scale, and of bolder appearance; the sword penetrates the inner circle nearly to the edge of the coin; the arms under the horse consist of a cuirass, helmet, and spears, and fill the whole field beneath the horse to the inner circle. This type, the execution of which is attributed to Rawlins, was used throughout the whole period that this denomination was issued, namely, 1642, 1643, and 1644 (Plate I, 1), and is the only one muled with a Shrewsbury reverse.

During the second or intermediate period a die was made with the Briot horse with arms on a line underneath (Plate I, 6). The mint-mark on all obverses is the Oxford plume. In like manner the reverses differ from those of Shrewsbury by having the plumes banded and a mint-mark of seven pellets (Plate I, 7). The reverse of the pound issued in 1644 has quite a different design, which, like the obverse A found with it, is attributed to Rawlins. It has no mint-mark and has a pellet at the commencement and end of the legend, the lettering being in small characters. There is only one large plume, which cuts the inner circle surmounting the value, the declaration in three curved lines, in a cartouche with a lion's head in the centre of the top, and the edges are jagged. The date 1644

and OX are at the bottom of the field. With the exception of this die, all the legends on the reverse commence in the first or left-hand top quarter.

There is a beaded circle on both obverse and reverse of all these coins.

1642.

Obverses.

A. Mint-mark, plume with two pellets () each side, the large horse attributed to Rawlins, arms beneath, plume behind the King's back. Legend, CAROLVS:D:G:MAG:BRIT:FRA:ET:HIBER:REX (Plate I, 1). This is found with reverse 1. Hawkins No. 4.

B. Mint-mark, plume. Shrewsbury horse trampling on arms amongst which is a cannon; plume behind King's back. Legend, CAROLVS:D:G:MAGNI:BRITANI:FRAN:ET:HIB:REX (Plate I, 2). This is found with reverse 2. Hawkins No. 2.

C. Mint-mark, plume with two pellets (:) to left. Similar to B, but there is no cannon amongst the arms and the plume is behind the King's head. Legend, CAROLVS:D:G:MAGNI:BRITANI:FRAN:ET:HIBER:REX (Plate I, 3). This is found with reverse 2. Hawkins No. 1.

D. Mint-mark, plume. Similar to C, but the exergue beneath the arms is chequered. Legend, CAROLVS:D:G:MAGNI:BRIT:FRAN:ET:HIB:REX. Hawkins No. 3. (Plate I, 4.) This is found with reverse 2.

Reverses.

1. Shrewsbury Reverse 4. Mint-mark, five pellets (:•:). No pellets by value xx; three fat Shrewsbury plumes; declaration in two lines, RELIG:PROT:LEG/ANGL:LIBER:PAR; 1642. Legend, EXVRGAT·DEVS·INIMICI·DISSIPENTVR (Plate I, 5). This is found with obverse A. Hawkins No. 4.

2. Mint-mark, seven pellets (•••••). Pellet each side of value; three plumes; RELIG·PROT·LEG·ANG·LIBER·PAR 1642; two pellets (•) between words of legend. Hawkins No. 1. This is found with obverses B, C, and D.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8

THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46

Plate I

1643.

Obverses.

A. Same as A, 1642 (Plate I, 1). Hawkins No. 5. This is found with reverse 2.

B. Same as B, 1642 (Plate I, 2). Hawkins No. 6. This is found with reverse 1.

C. Mint-mark, plume. Briot's horse with arms beneath, plume behind King's back. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAGNI : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HIB : REX (Plate I, 6). This is found with reverse 2. This belongs to the second or intermediate period.

Reverses.

1. Same as 2, 1642, except that the figure 2 in the date has been altered to 3 (Plate I, 7). Hawkins No. 6. This is found with obverse B.

2. Same as 1, except that the 3 of the date is not an altered figure. Hawkins No. 5. This is found with obverses A and C.

1644.

Obverse.

A. Same as A of 1642 and 1643 (Plate I, 1). Hawkins No. 7.

Reverse.

1. No mint-mark. Large single plume ; pellet each side of date declaration in three lines, RELIG : PROT/ : LEG : ANG : /LIBER : PAR—all within a cartouche ornamented with a lion's head ; 1644 OX. Legend in small letters, a pellet at commencement and end and a billet or oblong stop between the words (Plate I, 8). Hawkins No. 7.

HALF-POUNDS.

The half-pounds are few in number and consist of one obverse and three reverse dies for the two years in which they were issued, 1642 and 1643, first period. The obverse die corresponds to the pound 1642 C ; the arms beneath the horse are not so numerous

and the plume behind the King is somewhat lower in the field. In like manner the reverse corresponds with those of the pounds except that the value is x instead of xx. There is a coin purporting to be a half-pound of 1644, but this is a fake. It has an appearance as if the centre of an ordinary half-pound has been erased and a copy of the horseman with a view of Oxford, as on the crown of that date 1644 A (Plate II, 20) had been inserted and an additional pellet added to the one on the left of the mint-mark plume. In like manner the date on the reverse, 1642, the figure 2 has been erased and : 1644 : OXON substituted.

1642.

Obverse.

A. Mint-mark, plume with pellet to left. Shrewsbury horse with arms beneath ; plume behind King's neck. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAGN : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HIB : REX (Plate II, 9). Hawkins. This is found with reverses 1 and 2.

Reverses.

1. Shrewsbury. Reverse 3. Mint-mark two pellets (:). Value with pellet each side and three thin Shrewsbury plumes. Declaration in two lines, RELIG : PROT · LEG / ANG · LIBER · PAR · 1642 ; two pellets between words of the legend (Plate II, 10).

2. Mint-mark, seven pellets (·:·:·). Similar to No. 1, but the plumes are those of Oxford, and there are two pellets between words of Declaration (Plate II). Hawkins No. 1.

1643.

Obverse.

A. Same as 1642 A (Plate II, 9).

Reverse.

1. Mint-mark, four pellets (·:·:·). Otherwise similar to reverse, 1642, 2, but the date 1643 (Plate II, 12). Hawkins No. 2.

CROWNS.

The authorities did not trouble themselves much about the crowns, as they continued to use the Shrewsbury obverse die B, but in 1643, first period, they introduced a new one brought up to date. The reverse dies are similar to those of the half-pounds, with the value v instead of x.

In 1644 a few crowns were struck of a very ornate character. This die is by Rawlins and is generally known as the Oxford crown.

1642.

Obverse.

A. Shrewsbury obverse B. Mint-mark, one pellet. Shrewsbury horse with line underneath; thin Shrewsbury plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT . FRAN . ET . HIBER . REX. Hawkins No. 1—481 (Plate II, 13).

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Pellet each side of value; three plumes. Declaration in two lines, RELIG : PROT : LEG / ANG : LIBER : PAR. 1642. Two pellets between words of legend (Plate II, 14). Hawkins No. 1—481.

2. Mint-mark, four pellets (••); otherwise similar to reverse 1 (Plate II, 15).

1643.

Obverses.

A. Same as 1642 A (Plate II, 13). This is found with reverses 2 and 3.

B. Mint-mark, plume. Early Oxford horse, with near hind leg raised; ground with grass beneath; plume behind King. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HI : REX (Plate II, 16). Hawkins No. 3. This is found with reverses 1 and 3.

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, four pellets (•••); otherwise similar to 1642, but dated 1643. This is found with obverse B (Burstall sale, October, 1912; lot 182).

2. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••); but the fifth pellet is missing; otherwise similar to 1642; dated 1643 (Plate II, 17). This is found with obverse A.

3. Mint-mark, seven pellets (•••••). Otherwise similar to 1642, but date 1643 (Plate II, 18). This is found with obverses A and B. Hawkins No. 2.

1644.

Obverse.

A. Mint-mark, floriated cross, or, rather, a pellet with four florets issuing from the edge. Large horse like that on the pound, 1644 A; a view of the city from the Banbury road with its name OXON beneath it and R, the artist's initial, behind the horse's tail. No plume behind King. Legend, CAROLVS:D:G:MAG:BRIT:FRAN:ET:HIBER:REX. Lozenge stops, latest lettering (Plate II, 19). Hawkins No. 4. B. M.

Reverse.

1. No mint-mark. Value and three plumes; floral scrolls instead of lines above and below declaration, RELIG ♦ PROT ♦ LEG / ANG ♦ LIBER ♦ PARL; lozenge stops; 1644 in script figures; OXON, floral decoration between the words of the legend (Plate II, 20). Hawkins No. 4. Ruding xxiv, i.

HALF-CROWNS.

Half-crowns appear to form the largest bulk of the coins struck. Below I enumerate between 90 and 100 varieties of these, and there must be others that I have not yet come across which will turn up from time to time, and it can be taken as a moderate estimate that of these there are over one hundred dies in all. In this denomination there are found the greatest examples of that promiscuous and casual



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THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46

Plate II

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use of the dies to which I have already drawn attention, namely, 1644 C is found with at least ten different reverses, and 1643 H with seven. In 1643 there are no less than eleven obverse and twenty-eight reverse dies, while in 1644 there are respectively seven and twenty.

1642.

Probably the first half-crowns were struck from dies brought from Shrewsbury, but new reverses must have been quickly made, for they are found with the D and F obverses of Shrewsbury. The only alteration is in the form of the plume, a new iron being made for the purpose ; on the obverse, however, this new plume was used also as a mint-mark. As an exception to the rule there are more obverses than reverses, the numbers being respectively seven and five.

Obverses.

A. Shrewsbury obverse "D." Mint-mark, two pellets (••), Shrewsbury horse, with line below and Shrewsbury plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BR : FRAN : ET · HIB : REX. The point of the sword divides the pellets of the mint-mark. Found with reverse 2 (Plate III, 21).

B. Shrewsbury obverse "F." Mint-mark, plume without coronet or bands, with two pellets (:) to the left, Shrewsbury horse, line below, no plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HIB : REX : (Plate III, 22). Hawkins No. 2. Found with reverses 2 and 4.

As all the Oxford obverses have a plume behind the king, no remark about it will be made.

C. Mint-mark, plume. Shrewsbury horse, line below. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIBER : REX (Plate III, 23). Found with reverses 1, 2, 3 and 5 (B.M.).

D. Mint-mark, plume with two pellets to left and one to right. Differs from "C" by having BRI : and HIB : in legend (Plate III, 24). There are two dies. Found with reverses 2 and 3.

E. Mint-mark, plume. Differs from "C" by having BRIT : and HIB : in legend (Plate III, 25). Found with reverse 3.

F. Mint-mark, plume. Shrewsbury horse, no line below. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HI : REX (Plate III, 26). Hawkins No. 1. Found with reverse 3.

G. Mint-mark, fat Shrewsbury plume. Differs from "F" in having BR : FR : in legend. A different puncheon for the horse has been used, and the off hind leg breaks through the inner circle. The plume behind is of the Oxford pattern (Plate III, 27). Found with reverse 3.

Reverses.

As all the reverses have three plumes and a line above and below the Declaration only peculiarities will be remarked.

1. Shrewsbury, reverse "6." Mint-mark, four pellets (••••). Three thin Shrewsbury plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG / ANG · LIBER · PAR 1642. Pellet between the words of the legend. Found with obverse C (Plate III, 28).

2. Mint-mark, two pellets (••). Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG / ANG · LIBER · PAR 1642. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate III, 29). Found with obverses A, B, C and D.

3. Mint-mark, two pellets (••). Declaration, RELIG : PROT : LEG / ANG : LIBER : PAR 1642. Two pellets between the words of the legend (Plate III, 30). There are three dies, one having a blundered P in PAR. Found with obverses C, D, E, F and G.

4. Mint-mark, two pellets (••). Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG / ANG · LIBER · PAR 1642. Two pellets between the words of the legend, which ends INIMI (Plate III, 31). Hawkins No. 2. Found with obverse B.

5. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••). Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LEG / ANG · LIBER · PAR 1642. Two pellets between the words of the legend (Plate III, 32). Found with obverse C (B. M.).

1643.

In this year there was a very large issue and all the three periods are well represented, which may account for the great number of dies made use of.



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THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46

Plate III

Obverses.

First Period.

Apparently none of the obverse dies of 1642 was used, as I have not come across any of them with a reverse of this year. The horse, as before observed, is changed ; it now has its off hind leg raised instead of the near hind. All these coins have a plume behind the King.

A. Mint - mark, plume, no line under horse. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HIB : REX (Plate III, 33). Hawkins No. 5A. Found with reverse 2 (W. S. Lincoln), 3, 7, 9, 15 and 16 (A. H. Baldwin).

B. Mint-mark, plume. As "A," but with the letter A below the horse (Plate III, 34). Found with reverse 3 (Hamilton Smith Sale, Plate IV, 89). I am unable to propose any explanation of this A.

C. Mint-mark, plume, as "A," but HI : in the legend. Hawkins No. 5. Found with reverse 4.

D. As "C" but with pellet to the left of the mint-mark (Plate III, 35). Found with 3 and 5 (B. M.).

E. Mint-mark, plume. Line under horse. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HI : REX (Plate IV, 36). Found with reverses 1 and 2.

F. Mint-mark, pellet. Line under horse. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HIB : REX (Plate IV, 37). Hawkins No. 4. Found with reverses 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13.

This die was used at Bristol, as it is found with two reverses of that Mint, and all the reverse dies it is muled with are strongly of the Bristol type as regards lettering, plumes and Declaration, viz. : 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13. This was probably the last of the early dies, or it may be that of the first Bristol.

G. Mint-mark pellet. Similar to "F" but with HI : in legend. Hawkins No. 3. Found with reverses 2, 4 and 6.

Intermediate.

The change consists in a new figure of the King on horseback, and that which I have already termed the Briot horse now appears and lasts till the close of the mint. Instead of a line under the horse, ground is represented which varies, being at times plain, pebbly, rocky or with grass.

H. Mint-mark, plume. Grass under the horse, and the King's sword pierces the inner circle. Legend, CAROLLVS · (*sic*) D · G · MAG · BRI · FRA · ET · HI · RE. This die is easily distinguished, as CAROLVS is spelt with two L's, and there are single pellets between the words (Plate IV, 38). Found with reverses 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23.

I. Mint-mark plume with a pellet to the left. Grass under the horse. The King's sword does not reach the inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIB : REX ·. Hawkins No. 8 —493 (Plate IV, 39). Found with reverses 1, 22 (W. S. Lincoln), 23 Hawkins No. 11—24 and 28.

Last Period.

The difference between the obverses of this period and those of the Intermediate is principally in the lettering in the letter B, which has the bottom serif prolonged to the rear, and when blurred has the appearance of the letters BR in monogram.

J. Mint-mark, rosette with a pellet to the left. Lumpy ground. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIB : REX · (Plate IV, 40). Hawkins No. 10. Found with reverses 23 (Miss H. Farquhar), 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29.

K. Mint-marks, rosette and plume with two pellets (:) to the left of the former. Lumpy ground. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIB : REX : (Plate IV, 41). Found with reverses 19, 26, 28 (Hamilton Smith Sale, 21.7.1913, Lot 92) and 29 (Miss H. Farquhar).

*Reverses.**First Period.*

The reverses as a rule are similar to those of 1642 ; there are, however, some exceptions.



THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46

Plate IV

20

1. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : LEG / ANG : LIBER : PA 1643. One pellet between the words of the legend (Plate IV, 42). There are two dies, one of which is intermediate, but probably both are. Found with obverses E and I.

2. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Similar to "1," but has PAR in Declaration. There are three dies of this. Found with obverses A (W. S. Lincoln), E, F and G.

3. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Similar to "2," but has two pellets between the words of the legend (Plate IV, 43). There are two dies. Found with obverses A, B (Hamilton Smith Sale, Plate IV, 89) and D.

4. Mint-mark, four large irregular-shaped pellets (•••). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : LEG / ANG : LIBER : PAR 1643. Large pellet between the words of the legend. Found with obverses C and G.

5. Mint-mark, four pellets. Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : LEG / ANG : LIBER : PAR 1643. Two pellets between the words of the legend (Plate IV, 44). Found with obverse D (B.M.).

6. Mint-mark, four small pellets (•••). Three even plumes. Declaration in large letters, RELIG : PRO : LEG / ANG : LIBER : PA : 1643 ; pellet between the words of the legend. The dots composing the inner circle are very small. Found with obverse G.

7. Mint-mark, five pellets (••••). Otherwise as "5" (Plate IV, 45). Found with obverse A.

Nos. 8, 9 and 10 have a very strong resemblance to the early Bristol half-crowns, having the same arrangement of the Declaration, with very similar plumes and lettering.

8. Mint-mark, four wedge-shaped pellets (⊠). Three large plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO / LE : AN : LI : PA 1643. Wedge-shaped pellet between the words of the legend, two of these pellets instead of S in DEVS (Plate IV, 46). Found with obverse F.

9. Similar to "8," but PROT• in Declaration and two pellets between words of legend, DEVS. Found with obverse A.

10. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••••) (obliterated in my specimen). Three large plumes. Declaration, RELIG : / PRO : LE : AN : LI : PA : 1643. Two pellets between the words of the legend. Found with obverse F.

Nos. 11, 12, and 13 have the same features as Nos. 8 to 10, but the plumes are very much coarser and squarer in shape.

11. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••). Three large square plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : / LE : AN : LIB : PA 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend. Found with obverse F.

12. Similar to "11," but four pellets after PROT in Declaration (Plate IV, 47). Found with obverse F (B. M.).

13. Mint-mark obliterated. Similar to "12," but no line above or below Declaration, which reads PA•. Hawkins No. 7—491 (Plate IV, 48). Found with obverse F (B. M.).

It will be noticed with regard to the above six reverses that, with the exception of 9, they are all found with obverse F, which was used at Bristol, and also have the abbreviations of the words of the Declaration as found on the half-crowns of that Mint.

14. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••). Three broad square plumes with the ornaments of the coronet well marked. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : LEG / ANG : LIBER : PAR 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate IX, 171). Found with obverse A (G. Hamilton Smith).

This has a strong resemblance to Nos. 11, 12 and 13, but has the correct Oxford Declaration.

The next two Nos., 15 and 16, are peculiar. They have Shrewsbury plumes of the roughest description; the rest of the work is correspondingly coarse, and they have the appearance of being the first productions of an apprentice. At the first look they might be taken for forgeries, but both are apparently of good silver, and obverses are evidently from the official dies.

15. Mint-mark $\text{H} \text{H}$, as if three I irons had been used to form an H. Three rough Shrewsbury plumes. A line above and below the first line and one below second of Declaration, RELIG PROT LE/ANG

LIB PAR. No stops between words of the Declaration or legend (Plate IV, 49). Found with obverse A.

16. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••••). Plumes as on "5." Declaration, RELIG PROT LE / ANG LIBER PAR 1643. Two pellets between the words of the legend. Found with obverse A (A. H. Baldwin).

Intermediate.

The reverses differ from those of the first period in having the Declaration in larger letters, and ending PA. On one a large central plume, so common on those of the next year, 1644, appears.

17. Mint-mark, one pellet. Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LE / ANG · LIBER · PA 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend. Found with obverse H.

18. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••••). Otherwise as "17," but two pellets between the words of the Declaration except LIBER. Found with obverse H.

19. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••••). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : LE / ANG LIBER PA : 1643 (small figure 1). Pellet between the words of the legend. Found with obverses H and K.

20. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••••). Differs from "19" in the Declaration, RELIG : PRO : LE / ANG : LIBER : PA : Found with obverse H (Plate IV, 50).

21. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••••). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : LE / ANG : LIBER · PA 1643. Two pellets between the words of the legend. Found with obverse H.

22. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••). Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : LE / ANG : LIBER : PA 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate IV, 51). Found with obverses H and I (W. S. Lincoln).

Last Period.

These reverses have OX below the date and the peculiar R of this period, and with two exceptions have the large central plume.

L

The figure 1 in the date is in script, and LIB is substituted for LIBER in the Declaration.

23. Mint-mark, rosette at the top. Three even plumes. Declaration, RELI · PRO · LEG / ANG · LIB · PAR (the O of PRO has the appearance of having been put in as an afterthought) 1643 OX. The legend commences at the top instead of, as usual, on the left, and has a rosette between the words (Plate IV, 52). Found with obverses H, I Hawkins No. 11, Snelling XII — 5 and J (Miss H. Farquhar).

24. Mint-mark, rosette with two pellet (:) to left. Three even plumes. Declaration RELI · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PAR 1643 OX. Rosette between the words of the legend (Plate IV, 53). Found with obverse I.

25. Mint-mark, rosette. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PAR 1643 OX. Pellet between the words of the Declaration. Found with obverse J.

26. Rosette with pellet each side. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PAR 1643 OX. Pellet between the words of the Legend. (Plates IV, 54.) Found with obverses J and K.

27. Rosette with two pellets (:) each side. Large central plume. Declaration, RELI · PROT · LE / ANG · LIB · PAR 1643 OX. Rosette (?) stops between the words of the legend. Found with obverse J.

28. Mint-mark, pellet similar to "27," except that there are no pellets between the words of the Declaration, but there are pellets between the words of the legend. Found with obverses I, J and K (Hamilton Smith Sale, Plate IV, 92).

29. Mint-mark, pellet. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PAR 1643. Rosette each side of OX (Plate IV, 55). Found with obverses J and K (Miss H. Farquhar).

1644.

The half-crowns were freely struck during this year. One feature requires attention, namely, the introduction of the lozenge

both as a mint-mark and as a stop. This, as it appears on so many of his coins, I attribute to the influence of Briot, who was, I believe, at Oxford during 1644. Rawlins was also partial to this form of stops, so doubtless he had something to do with its selection. The use of the peculiar R was continued.

Obverses.

The obverses are similar to those of the last period of 1643. Towards the end of the year the figure of the King was made larger.

A. Mint-mark, rosette with pellet to left. This is the same die as 1643 J (Plate IV, 40). Found with reverse 11.

B. Mint-mark, rosette and plume with two pellets (:) to the left of the former. This is the same die as 1643 K (Plate IV, 41). Found with reverses 9 and 12.

C. Mint-mark, plume with pellet to left. This differs from 1643 I in the lettering and the ground being plain, instead of with grass. There are at least two dies of this, one having two pellets after CAROLVS and ET. Hawkins No. 14 (Plate V, 56). Found with reverses 2, 3, 4, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 (B. M.).

D. Mint-mark, plume with two pellets (:) each side. Otherwise like "C" (Plate V, 57). Found with reverse 10 (B. M.).

E. Mint-mark, small Shrewsbury plume with pellet to left, grass under horse. Legend, CAROLVS.D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET · HIB : REX. (Plate V, 58). Found with reverses 5, 6, 8 and 14.

F. Mint-mark, plume. Large horse and plain ground. Legend, CAROLVS.D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET · HIBER : REX (Plate V, 59). Found with reverses 8 and 18 (Thorpe Sale, Lot 247).

G. Mint-mark, small Shrewsbury plume with lozenge to left. Large horse and rocky ground. Legend, CAROLVS ♦ D ♦ G ♦ MAG ♦ BR ♦ FR ♦ ET ♦ HIB ♦ REX ♦. Lozenge stops (Plate V, 60). Found with reverses 1, 6, 7 and 13.

Ensigns.

The reverses are of the same type as the last period of 1643. With the exception of two, they all have the large central plume. On one the side plume is a small Shrewsbury one, and all have OX. Some have the first in script figures.

1. Markmark. Ensign with two pellets each side. Three in small figures. Declaration. RELIG • PRO • LE ANG • LIB • PA 1644. Found with obverse G.

2. Markmark. Ensign with two pellets each side. Three in small figures. Declaration. RELIG • PRO • LE ANG • LIB • PAR 1644. Found with obverse C.

3. Markmark. Ensign with two pellets each side. Three in small figures. Declaration. RELIG • PRO • LE ANG • LIB • PAR 1644. Found with obverse C.

4. Markmark. Ensign with two pellets each side. Large central plume. Declaration. RELIG • PRO • LE ANG • LIB • PAR 1644. Found with obverse C.

5. Markmark. Ensign with two pellets each side. Large central plume. Declaration. RELIG • PRO • LE ANG • LIB • PAR 1644. Found with obverse C.

6. Markmark. Ensign with two pellets each side. Large central plume. Declaration. RELIG • PRO • LE ANG • LIB • PAR 1644. Found with obverse C.

7. Markmark. Ensign with two pellets each side. Large central plume. Declaration. RELIG • PRO • LE ANG • LIB • PAR 1644. Found with obverse C.



THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46

Plate V

Reverses.

The reverses are of the same type as the last period of 1643. With the exception of two, they all have the large central plume. On two the side plume is a small Shrewsbury one, and all have OX. Some have the date in script figures.

1. Mint-mark, lozenge, with two pellets each side. Three even plumes. Declaration, RELI · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PA 1644 in small figures, lozenge each side of OX and between the words of the legend (Plate V, 61). Found with obverse G.

2. Mint-mark, five pellets (·:·) very close together. Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : LE / ANG : LIB : PAR 1644 in small figures, OX. Pellet between the words of the legend. Hawkins No. 12 (Plate V, 62). Found with obverse C.

3. Mint-mark, billet or an oblong stop. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : LEG / ANG : LIB : PAR 1644 in small figures, OX. Billet, as on the pound, between the words of the legend (Plate V, 63). Found with obverse C.

4. Mint-mark, billet, with two pellets (:) each side. Large central plume. Declaration RELIG : PRO : LE / ANG : LIB : PAR 1644 in small figures, OX. Billet each side of date and OX, also between the words of the legend (Plate V, 64). Found with obverse C.

5. Mint-mark, lozenge. Large central plume. Declaration, RELI · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PA 1644 in small figures, OX. Lozenge both sides of plumes, date and OX, also between the words of the legend (Plate V, 65). Found with obverse E.

6. Mint-mark, lozenge with two pellets (:) each side. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG ♦ PRO ♦ LE / ANG ♦ LIB ♦ PAR (lozenge stops) 1644 OX. Lozenge both sides of plumes, date and OX. Also between the words of the legend (Plate V, 66). Found with obverses E and G.

7. Mint-mark, four lozenges (♦♦♦♦) with one to the left. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PAR 1644 in small figures, OX. Lozenge both sides of plume, date and OX, also between the words of the legend (Plate V, 67). Found with obverse G.

25

8. Mint-mark, five lozenges (◆◆◆), otherwise similar to "7" (Plate V, 68). Found with obverses C, E and F.

9. Mint-mark, rosette. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PAR 1644 in small figures, OX. Pellet both sides of plumes, and Shrewsbury plume each side of date. Lozenge between the words of the legend (Plate V, 69). Found with obverse B.

10. Mint-mark, rosette or large pellet. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PAR 1644 in large script figures, OX. Pellet each side of OX and between the words of the legend (Plate V, 70). Hawkins No. 20. Found with obverse D (B. M.).

11. Mint-mark, rosette with two pellets each side. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PAR 1644 in large figures, OX. Pellet between the words of the legend. Found with obverse A.

12. Mint-mark, rosette with two pellets each side. Similar to "11," but has a rosette on each side of plumes, date—which is in large figures—and OX (Plate V, 71). Found with obverse B.

13. Mint-mark, pellet. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG PRO LE / ANG LIB PAR, no stops, 1644 in small figures, OX. Pellet each side of plumes, date and OX, also between the words of the legend (Plate V, 72). Found with obverse G.

14. Mint-mark, pellet. This differs from "13" in having a pellet between the words of the Declaration, and the legend commences higher up on the left of the coin. Found with obverse E.

15. Mint-mark, lozenge. Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG / ANG · LIBER · PAR 1644 in large script figures, OX. Lozenge both sides of plumes, date and OX, also between the words of the legend. Found with obverse C.

16. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••). Large central plume. Declaration, RELIG : PRO · LE / ANG : LIBER : PA · 1644 in script figures, OX in small letters. Pellet between the words of the legend. Hawkins No. 18. Found with obverse C.

17. Mint-mark, pellet. Large central plume. Declaration, RELI · PRO · LE / ANG · LIB · PA 1644 in script figures, OX. Pellet each side of plumes, date and OX, also between the words of the legend. The reverse illustrated in the *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, Plate XXVI, 634. The Declaration ends PA. Found with obverse C.

18. Mint-mark, pellet. As "17," but no pellet each side of plumes (Plate V, 73). Found with obverses C and F (Thorpe Sale, Lot 247).

19. Mint-mark, rosette with two lozenges (⬠) each side. Large central plume with a small Shrewsbury one each side. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : LE : / ANG : LIB : PARL · 1644 in script figures, OX. Lozenge both sides of plumes, date and OX, also between the words of the legend (Plate V, 74). Hawkins No. 17—493. Found with obverse C.

As this script form of date was used by Rawlins on the "Oxford" crown A 1 of 1644, the dies Nos. 15 to 19 may have been engraved by him.

20. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume with two pellets (:) to left. Large central plume, with a small Shrewsbury one each side. Declaration, RELI · PRO · LE · / ANG · LIB · PA 1644 in small figures, OX. Shrewsbury plume each side of date, pellet each side of OX and between the words of the legend (Plate V, 75). Found with obverse C (B. M.).

1645.

There was a great reduction in the issue of half-crowns during this year and a falling-off in artistic work on the dies.

Obverses.

The large horse is continued, but is very much coarser in appearance.

A. Mint-mark, plume with pellet to left (Plate V, 56). The same as 1644 "C." There are two dies. Found with reverses 3. Hawkins No. 21—4, 5 and 9 and Ruding Sup. V, 18.

B. Mint-mark, plume, lozenge (?) to left. Large horse, with plain ground. Legend, CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HI · REX. Found with reverse 1.

C. Mint-mark, plume, pellet to left. Large horse, with plain ground. Legend, CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRA · ET · HI · REX. Hawkins No. 23 (Plate VI, 76). Found with reverses 1 and 4 (Miss H. Farquhar).

D. Mint-mark, plume, pellet to right. Large horse, lumpy ground. Legend, CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRA · ET · HI · REX. (Plate VI, 77). Found with reverse 1.

E. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to right. Large horse, pebbly ground. Legend, · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRA · ET · HI · REX. (Plate VI, 78). Found with reverses 6 and 7 (B. M.).

F. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to right. Similar to "E" but of coarser work, especially the horse, and the ground under it has coarse grass. Hawkins, No. 23 (Plate VI, 85). Found with reverses 2 and 7.

G. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet each side. Large horse with grass. Legend, · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRAN · ET · HI · REX. (Plate VI, 79). Found with reverse 8.

Reverses.

The design of the three even-sized plumes was reverted to :—

1. Mint-mark, rosette. Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG PRO LEG ANG LIBER PAR, no stops, 1645 in small figures, OX in small letters. Rosette between the words of the legend, which reads DEVS DEVS (*sic*) (Plate VI, 80). Found with obverses B, C and D.

2. Mint-mark, rosette. Similar to "1," but the date is in large figures and OX in large letters, and the legend reads correctly. The work is coarse (Plate VI, 81). Found with obverse F.

3. Mint-mark, rosette, with two pellets (:) each side. Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : LEG / ANG : LIBER : PAR 1645 OX.

Pellet between the words of the legend. Found with obverse A. Hawkins No. 21.

4. Mint-mark, five pellets (:•:). Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG:PRO:LE:/ANG:LIB:PAR 1645 OX; pellet between the words of the legend: the date on this coin is in smaller figures. There are two dies. Found with obverses A and C (Miss H. Farquhar).

5. Mint-mark, five pellets (:•:). Differs from "4" by having LEG and PAR: in the Declaration. (Plate VI, 82.) Found with obverse A.

6. Mint-mark, five pellets (:•:). Differs from "4" by having LEG and no stops in the Declaration and the figures of the date wide apart. Found with obverse E.

7. Mint-mark, five pellets. Differs from "5" by having no (: after PAR in the Declaration nor a pellet each side of date and OX. (Plate VI, 83.) Hawkins, No. 23. Found with E (B. M.) and F.

8. Mint-mark, pellet. Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG:PRO:LEG/ANG:LIBER:PAR 1645 OX. Pellet between the words of the legend. (Plate VI, 84.) Found with obverse G.

9. Mint-mark, nil. Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG PRO:LE/ANG:LIB:PAR 1645 OX. Pellet each side of OX and between the words of the legend. Hawkins, No. 22. Found with obverse A. Ruding Sup. V.—18. Snelling XII.—8.

1646.

The half-crowns of this year are similar to those of 1645 and of the same coarse work. Notwithstanding the few months—practically two, April and May—of its life, there are a fair variety of dies.

Obverses.

A. Mint-mark, plume with pellet to right. This is the same die as 1645 F. (Plate VI, 85.) Found with reverse 1.

B. Mint-mark, plume. Large horse, on a pebbly ground. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET · HIB : REX. (Plate VI, 86.) Found with reverses 1, 2 (Spink & Son), 3 and 4.



THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46

Plate VI

20

C. Mint-mark, plume with pellet to left. Large horse with long legs, on pebbly ground. Legend, CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX. (Plate VI, 87.) Found with reverses 1, 2, 3 (Cumberland Clark Sale, Lot 150), 4 (Spink & Son).

Reverses.

Several new features appear, on some, three pellets or annulets are placed between the plumes and figures of the date. The legend on two commences on the right of the coin and not on the left as usual. The letter L is hardly distinguishable from an I.

1. Mint-mark, five pellets (·∴·). Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LEG / ANG · LIBER · PAR 1646 OX. Pellet between the words of the legend. (Plate VI, 88.) Found with obverses A, B and C.

2. Mint-mark five pellets (·∴·). Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LEG / ANG · LIBER · PAR 1646 OX. A pellet outside and between plumes, figures of date and each side of OX. Legend, EXVRGAT ·∴· DEVS · DISSIPEN · INIMISI. (Plate VI, 89.) Found with obverses B (Spink & Son) and C.

3. Mint-mark, on the right of the coin, five pellets (·∴·). Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · LEG / ANG · LIBER · PAR 1646 OX. A pellet outside and between plumes, figures of date and each side of OX, also between the words of the legend, which begins on the right. (Plate VI, 90.) Found with B and C (Cumberland Clark Sale, Lot 150).

4. Mint-mark, on the right side of the coin, five pellets (·∴·) as "3," but an annulet for the stops in Declaration and for the pellet about and between the plumes, date and OX. (Plate VI, 91.) Found with B and C (Spink & Son).

SHILLINGS.

The shillings are well represented, but were not coined in anything like such numbers or varieties as the half-crowns. They follow in general lines those of Shrewsbury and like other denominations, the dies of Shrewsbury were undoubtedly used on the

Mint's arrival at Oxford, for we find the die "B" of the former, muled with a reverse of the latter. The bust of the King on the obverse is always in armour with the usual lace collar, and he is crowned and facing to the left. The slight differences that occur are hard to describe in writing, but can better be distinguished by an illustration. As the mint-mark is always a plume, it is omitted in front of the bust. The mark of value, XII, is behind the head.

There is no leading feature in the shilling of the intermediate period like the Briot horse in the larger pieces, but those of the last period have the peculiar R. The Declaration on the reverse is in three lines.

1642.

Obverses.

With the exception of A the bust of the King is very well executed and is a pleasing portrait.

A. Mint-mark, plume without bands or coronet. Bust as that of the King on the Shrewsbury horse but much enlarged. Legend, CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX (Plate VI, 92). This is the Shrewsbury obverse B, and is probably represented in Snelling XI—24, and, if so, is Hawkins No. 2. Found with reverse 1 (B. M.) and 2.

B. Mint-mark, plume. A well-executed portrait of the King. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIBER : REX. Hawkins No. 1. Found with reverses 3 and 4.

C. Mint-mark, plume. Similar to B, but HIB : in legend (Plate VI, 93). Found with reverse 4.

D. Mint-mark, plume. Similar to B and C, but HI : in legend. Found with reverse 3 (B. M.). This is similar to one of the half unites, with the exception of the mark of value.

Reverses.

There is a straight line above and below each line of the Declaration, and the reverse is otherwise similar to the half-crowns.

1. Mint-mark, pellet. Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT / LEG : ANG / LIBER : PAR 1642. Two pellets between the words of the legend (Plate VI, 94). Hawkins No. 1. Found with obverse A (B. M.).

2. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Similar to No. 1, but a single pellet between words of Declaration and legend (Plate IX, 170). Found with obverse A.

3. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Similar to "1." Found with obverses B and D.

4. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Similar to "2," but LEGI : ANGL in Declaration (Plate VI, 95). Found with obverses B and C.

1643.

Obverses.

There are no less than seven slight variations in the bust :—

A. Mint-mark, plume. This is the same die as 1642 "C" (Plate VI, 93). Found with reverse 3.

B. Mint-mark, plume. The bust is coarse and is placed well to the left of the field. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX (Plate VII, 96). Found with reverses 2 and 4.

C. Mint-mark, plume. The bust is very like that on "B," but is in the centre of the field. Legend the same as "B." This die is easily distinguished by a slight flaw above the cross of the crown and a segmental one on the inside of the inner circle above the second I of XII. This obverse is only found with reverses of the Bristol type, and it is also found muled with those of that city, thus corresponding with half-crown 1643 "F" (Plate VII, 97). Found with reverses 5 and 6.

D. Mint-mark, plume. Bust of finer work, but somewhat larger, as it touches the inner circle both at top and bottom. Legend as on "B." There are two dies, one of which was used the following year, 1644, and so may therefore be intermediate (Plate VII, 98). Found with reverses 1, 2, 3 (Miss H. Farquhar) and 7.

E. Mint-mark, plume. Coarser bust, more like "B." Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG · BR · FR · ET · HI · REX. Pellet stops after the words, except D : G :. Found with reverse 8.

F. Mint-mark, plume. Finer bust than "E," having the edges of the lace collar well marked and with alternate pearls and jewels on the band of the crown. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HI : REX. This must be an early one, as the C of CAROLVS has a chip out of it like on those of 1642 and some of the early half-crowns of 1643 (Plate VII, 99). Found with reverses 3 and 8.

Last Period.

G. Mint-mark, plume. The King's crown looks as if it had had a bad fall and had been bent in. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIB : REX. This has the peculiar R (Plate VII, 100). Found with reverse 9.

Reverses.

The reverses follow much the same lines as those of 1642, except that three—4, 5 and 8—have not the two inner lines in the Declaration. 4 and 5 have three large plumes, 7 has three small Shrewsbury plumes, and 8 the peculiar R. None have OX below the date.

1. Mint-mark, pellet. Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : / LEG : ANG : / LIBER : PA · in large letters, with line above and below LEG : ANG : 1643. Two pellets between the words of the legend (Plate VII, 101). Found with obverse D.

2. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT / LEG : ANG / LIBER : PAR with line above and below LEG : ANG 1642. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate VII, 102). Found with obverses B and D.

3. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Similar to "2" but two pellets (:) between the words of the legend. There are two dies. Found with obverses A, D (Miss H. Farquhar) and F.

4. Mint-mark, two pellets (:)? Similar to "3" but two pellets (:) before LEG in the Declaration. Found with obverse B.



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THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46

Plate VII

100

The next two correspond to "8," "9" and "10" of the half-crowns of 1643, as they have the large plumes, and no line above and below LEG ANG.

5. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three very large plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PRO : / LEG : ANG : / LIB : PARL : 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate VII, 103). Found with obverse C.

6. Mint-mark, four small pellets (••••). Three large plumes of Bristol form. Declaration, RELIG : PRO / LEG : ANG : / LIB : PAR : 1643 in smaller figures. A wedge-shaped stop between the words of the legend, which correspond to those of half-crown 8 (Plate VII, 104). Found with obverse C.

These two reverses "5" and "6" correspond in like manner to those on the coins of Bristol as "8," "9" and "10" of the half-crowns do.

7. Mint-mark, four small pellets (••••). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT / LEG : ANG : / LIBER : PAR • with line above and below LEG : ANG : 1643. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate VII, 105). Found with obverse D.

8. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three small Shrewsbury plumes, otherwise similar to 3 (Plate VII, 106). There are two dies. Found with obverses E and F.

Last Period.

9. Mint-mark, rosette with two pellets (:) each side. Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT / LEGI : ANGLI : / LIBERT • PARL 1643. Rosette between the words of the legend. This reverse has the least abbreviated Declaration found on that of any coin. Though there is no OX below the date, it must belong to the latest period, as it has the peculiar R. In the mint-mark it corresponds with the half-crown "26" (Plate VII, 107). Found with obverse G.

1644.

The coins are similar to the latest type of 1643, and on some, like the half-crowns, the stops are lozenges. There is not such a

variety of busts on the money used for circulation as in the previous year. On the reverse, with two exceptions, OX appears below the date. This year several patterns were struck, two with the busts facing the right.

Obverses.

A. Mint-mark, plume. The same die as 1643 "D" (Plate VII, 98). Found with reverse 5. (Miss H. Farquhar.)

B. Mint-mark, plume. The same die as 1643 "G" (Plate VII, 100). Found with reverses 5 and 8. (B. M.)

C. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume. Bust. Legend, CAROLVS · D ♠ G ♠ MAG ♠ BR ♠ FR ♠ ET ♠ HI ♠ REX lozenge stops (Plate VII, 108). Found with reverses 1, 4 and 7.

D. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume, with two lozenges (♠) to the left. Bust like C. Legend, CAROLVS · D ♠ G ♠ MAG ♠ BR ♠ FR ♠ ET ♠ HIBER ♠ REX ♠ lozenge stops. This die was used till the close of the Mint in 1646 (Plate VII, 109). Found with 1, 2 (B. M.), 7. Hawkins No. 5—10 and 11.

E. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume, with lozenge to left. Bust with R, the initial of Rawlins, the engraver, on the truncation of the arm. Legend, CAROLVS · D ♠ G ♠ MAG ♠ BRI ♠ FR ♠ ET ♠ HIB ♠ REX · Hawkins No. 8 where the bust is described as in figured armour, lion's head on shoulder piece, falling lace collar and scarf looped up in front (Plate VII, 110). Found with reverse 6.

This coin is generally considered a pattern, but Miss Farquhar and the British Museum each have one, and these have evidently been in circulation.

The next three are patterns.

F. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume, with lozenge each side. Bust to left, as described by Hawkins, in figured armour, lion's head on shoulder piece, small plain collar and no scarf. Legend as on E, but BR. for BRI and HI for HIB. Hawkins No. 9—522 (Plate VII, 111). Found with reverse 9. (B. M.)

G. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume, with lozenge to left. Bust to

right in armour, with lion's head on shoulder piece, scarf looped up in front, and plain collar; the figures of value are retrograde, IIX. Legend as on E, but BR for BRI. Hawkins No. 30—523 (Plate VII, 112). Found with reverse 3 (B. M.).

H. Mint-mark, nil. Bust to right, which extends to the outer circle, is similar to G, but the scarf covers the shoulder. No inner circle. Legend commences at the King's right shoulder, CAROLVS · D G · MAG : BR · F · ET · HI REX. Hawkins No. 11—524 (Plate VII, 113). Found with reverse 12 (B. M.). This coin is of small module.

Reverses.

The reverses follow that of the last period of 1643, but, with two exceptions, have OX below the date; a similarity of mint-marks with those of the half-crowns will be noticed.

1. Mint-mark, four lozenges (◆◆◆◆). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG ◆ PRO / LEG ◆ ANGL / LIBER ◆ PAR lozenge stops. 1644 in small figures, OX in small letters. A lozenge each side of plumes, date and OX, also between the words of the legend. Hawkins No. 3 (Plate VII, 114). Found with obverses C and D.

2. Mint-mark, two lozenges (◆◆). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PR · / LEG · ANGL / LIBER · PA · pellet stops, 1644 OX. Lozenge each side of plumes, date and OX also between the words of the legend (Plate VII, 115). Hawkins No. 4. Found with obverse D (B. M.), also on the gold unite, vide *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi. *The Gold Coinage at Oxford of Charles I* (Plate II, 5).

3. Mint-mark, a lozenge with two pellets (:) each side. Similar to 1, except the Declaration reads RELIG ◆ PRO / LEG ◆ GAN ◆ / LIBER ◆ PA ◆ and there are no lozenges by OX (Plate VIII, 116). Hawkins No. 10—523. Found with obverse G (B. M.). This is a pattern.

4. Mint-mark, lozenge. Similar to No. 1, but Declaration RELIG ◆ PROT / LEG ◆ ANG ◆ / LIBER ◆ PAR ◆. 1644 in script figures (Plate VIII, 117). Hawkins No. 7. This corresponds to half-crown 15. Found with obverse C.

As this die resembles Nos. 15 to 19 of the half-crowns in workmanship, it may have been engraved by Rawlins.

5. Mint-mark, rosette with two pellets (:) each side. Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT / LEG : ANGL : / LIBERT : PAR 1644 in large figures. OX in large letters; pellet between the words of the legend (Plate VIII, 118). Found with A (Miss H. Farquhar) and B. This corresponds with half-crown 11.

6. Mint-mark, rosette with lozenge each side. Three even plumes with rosette each side. Legend, RELIG † PROT / LEG † ANG † LIBER † PAR, two lozenges (†) for stops, 1644 OX, a horizontal lozenge (•) both sides of date and OX. A lozenge between the words of the legend (Plate VIII, 119). Hawkins No. 8. Found with obverse E.

7. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PRO / · LEG · ANG · / LIBER · PAR 1044, o instead of 6, OX, lozenge each side of plumes, date and OX. Two pellets (:) between the words of the legend (Plate VIII, 120). Hawkins No. 6. Found with obverses C and D (Hawkins No. 5).

8. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PRO · / LEG · ANGL · / LIBER · PAR 1644 in large figures, OX is omitted. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate VIII, 121). Found with obverse B (B. M.).

9. Mint-mark, four lozenges (††††). Plume, with a small Shrewsbury one each side, a scroll, with a lozenge in the centre above and below the declaration, RELIG † PRO † / †† LEG † ANG †† / LIBER † PAR; lozenges for stops, 1644, OX. A lozenge between the words of the legend. Hawkins No. 9. Found with obverse F (B. M.) (Plate VIII, 122). This is a pattern.

10. Mint-mark, lozenge. Plume, with a small Shrewsbury one each side. Declaration, RELIG PRO / LEG ANG / LIBER PAR, apparently no stops, 1644 OX. Lozenge each side of plumes, date and OX, also between the words of the legend. Found with obverse D.

11. Mint-mark, a pellet. Three small Shrewsbury plumes. Declaration, RELIG PRO / LEG ANG / LIB · PAR, no stops, 1644 OX.



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THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46

Plate VIII

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Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate VIII, 123). Hawkins No. 1. Found with obverse D.

12. Mint-mark, nil. No inner circle. Large plume rising from a large coronet and extending to the outer circle. Declaration within a cartouche, with a lion's head at the top, RELIG PRO / LEG : ANG / LIB : PAR 1644, OX omitted. Pellet between the words of the legend, which commences at the top at right of plume (Plate VIII, 124). Hawkins No. 11—524. Found with obverse H (B. M.). This is a pattern and of small module.

1645.

There was a very small issue of shillings this year and also in 1646.

Obverse.

A. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume with two lozenges (♠) to left. The same die as 1644 "D" (Plate VII, 109).

Reverse.

1. Mint-mark (?). Three even plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PROT / LEG · ANG / LIBER · PAR · 1645 OX. (?) between the words of the legend (B. M.).

1646.

Obverse.

A. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume with two lozenges (♠) to left. The same die as 1644 "D" (Plate VII, 109).

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, floriated cross, with annulets at each side. Three small Shrewsbury plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PRO / LEGE · ANG / LIB · PAR annulet stops, 1646. Annulet between and each side of plumes and figures of date, also between the words of the legend ; three annulets below date (Plate VIII, 125).

M

2. Mint-mark, pellet, or perhaps a badly formed lozenge. Three small Shrewsbury plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PRO / LEGE · ANG / LIB · PAR, a pellet or a badly formed lozenge for stop, 1·6·4·6, pellet between the figures. The same class of stop between the words of the legend (Plate VIII, 126). (F. A. Walters.)

SIXPENCES.

There was a very small issue of sixpences, and it was practically restricted to the years 1642 and 1643. There was an issue in 1644, but it is exceedingly rare, and very few coins could have been struck, as the authorities did not even have a special reverse die prepared, but utilized one made for the groat. The obverse die used was the last of the Aberystwith C, as found on the fifth sixpence. In 1643 and 1644 new obverse dies were executed, which vary slightly from that of 1642, but they were made with the same care and evidently with the same irons, and all have a like mint-mark, the open book.

Hawkins mentions a sixpence with the plume mint-mark as being in the British Museum, but I failed to find it when inspecting the coins of Oxford in that collection.

The design of the reverse, with the exception of the one of 1644, is similar to that of the shilling.

1642.

Obverses.

A. Aberystwith obverse C. Mint-mark, open book with pellet each side. Bust of the King to the left in armour with a lace collar, crowned; the cross of the crown cuts the inner circle. Shrewsbury plume in front of face and mark of value VI behind. Legend, · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HI · REX · (Plate VIII, 127). Hawkins No. 2.

B. Mint-mark, plume. Bust, as on the shilling; otherwise as A. Hawkins No. 1. Ruding XXIV, 5.

100

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three plumes. A line above and below each line of the Declaration, RELIG:PROT/LEG:ANG/LIBER:PAR · 1642; two pellets (:) between the words of the legend (Plate VIII, 128). Found with obverses A and B. Ruding XXIV, 5, which gives a pellet after ANG. Also on a half unite. *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 196, Plate I, Fig. 1.

2. Mint-mark, four pellets (•••). Otherwise as 1. Found on a half unite (R. C. Lockett).

1643.

Obverses.

A. Same as 1642 "A" (Plate VIII, 127). Hawkins No. 3. Found with reverses 1, 3 (W. S. Lincoln), and 4.

B. Same as 1642 "A," but has MG: instead of MAG in the legend (Plate VIII, 129). I have not seen any coins of Aberystwith with this reading. Found with reverses 2, 3 and 4.

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Same as 1642 "1," but the date 1643 (Plate VIII, 130). Found with obverse A.

2. Mint-mark, one pellet. Three Shrewsbury plumes, otherwise as "1," except that there is a single pellet after DISSIPENTVR (Plate VIII, 131). Found with obverse B.

3. Mint-mark, one pellet. Three Shrewsbury plumes, otherwise as "1," but has PRO ANGL in the Declaration (Plate VIII, 132). Found with obverses A (W. S. Lincoln) and B.

4. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three Shrewsbury plumes, otherwise as "1" (Plate VIII, 133). Found with obverses A and B.

1644.

Obverse.

A. Mint-mark, open book, with pellet to left; otherwise as 1642 A, except that the front of the crown cuts the inner circle

M 2

(Plate VIII, 134). I have not come across this obverse either on a coin of Aberystwith or on one of Oxford 1642 or 1643.

Reverse.

1. Mint-mark, pellet. A Shrewsbury plume, with a lys each side. The lys is peculiar, as it has no strokes below the cross bar, and is nearly always used on the lower denominations. No lines between the lines of the Declaration, RELIG · PRO / LEG · ANG · / LIBER · PA · 1644 OX. A pellet each side of lys, date and OX, also between the words of the legend (Plate VIII, 135). Hawkins—532.

THE LOWER DENOMINATIONS.

Up to the close of 1643 the dies of the coins from the groat to the half-penny brought by Bushell from Aberystwith sufficed, but at the beginning of 1644 these had become worn out and a new set was required. Though adhering to the general design, some novelties were introduced, the principal one being the substitution of the lis for the plume in the field on the reverse; whether this was due to the absence of Bushell at Bristol or to the space not being large enough for these plumes, is a question, but I think the latter is the correct reason, as on the groats is a central plume. The Declaration, with the usual abbreviations, was tried on all denominations down to the penny, but was abandoned on the half-groat and penny, evidently for the reason that there was not room enough on the small area for the design, and the old Aberystwith pattern was reverted to. The execution of the dies is good and quite up to the standard of the larger coins.

GROATS.

The busts on the coins vary in size, from that of Aberystwith contained within the inner circle, to a large one which reaches to the outer circle, sometimes at the top and sometimes at the bottom; on one the inner circle is merely a wire line, and on another it is

omitted altogether. On the reverses the features of the pattern shillings of 1644 seems to have had some influence on some of the designs, especially those of 1645 and 1646. They were struck in the years 1644, 1645 and 1646.

1644.

Obverses.

A. Aberystwith obverse B on the fourth groat. Mint-mark, open book with a pellet each side. Similar bust to that on the sixpence, Shrewsbury plume in front and mark of value IIII behind the head; legend, · CAROLVS · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX · (Plate VIII, 136). Hawkins No. 6. Found with reverse 1.

B. Mint-mark, floriated cross, as on the crown, with a pellet each side. Bust to left, crowned, in armour, with lion's head on shoulder-piece, lace-collar and scarf looped in front. This is the best executed bust of the whole series. Legend and inner circle as "A" (Plate VIII, 137). Hawkins No. 1. Found with reverses 1 and 2.

C. Mint-mark, lys, with a pellet to left at end of the legend. The bust is large, reaching at top to the outer circle, in armour, plain collar with scarf looped in front, no plume, mark of value IIII behind. Legend commences to right of crown, · CAROLVS · D · G · M · B · F · ET · HIB · REX · (Plate IX, 138). Hawkins No. 4. Found with reverse 2.

D. Mint-mark, nil. Bust somewhat similar to C, but has lion's head on shoulder-piece and extending to the outer circle at the bottom, and the cross cuts the inner circle at top. No plume in front, mark of value behind. Legend commences at the bottom at the left of the King's shoulder, · CAROLVS · D · G · MA · BR · FR · ET · H · REX (Plate IX, 139). Hawkins No. 2. Found with reverse 2. (A sale at Glendinning's.)

E. Mint-mark, nil. Bust as on D, extending to the outer circle at bottom, and the cross cuts the inner circle, which is a wire line, at top. Mark of value behind. Legend commences at bottom at

the left of King's shoulder, CAROLVS · D : G : M : B : F : ET · H : REX
Lozenge stops (Plate IX, 140). Hawkins No. 3. Found with reverse 2.

F. Mint-mark, nil. Bust as on D, but does not extend to outer circle. No inner circle. Mark of value behind. R for Rawlins, the engraver, below the truncation of the shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the King's shoulder, CAROLVS · D : G : M : B : FR : ET · HI : REX · Stops, badly formed lozenges (Plate IX, 141). Hawkins No. 9. Found with reverse 2 (B. M.).

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, lozenge with two pellets (:) each side ; Shrewsbury plume with a small lys each side. Declaration in three lines, RELIG · PRO / LEG : ANG · / LIBER · PA · 1644 OX. Pellet each side of lys. Date and OX also between the words of the legend (Plate IX, 142). Hawkins No. 5. Found with obverses A and B.

2. Mint-mark, pellet. Otherwise similar to 1 except that it has a pellet each side of lys in addition to date and OX. This is the same die as the sixpence 1644 "1" (Plate VIII, 135). Hawkins No. 1. Found with obverses B, C, D (a sale at Glendining's), E and F.

1645.

Obverses.

A. Same as 1644 "B" (Plate VIII, 137). Hawkins No. 7. Found with reverse 1 (B.M.).

B. Same as 1644 "D" (Plate IX, 139). Hawkins No. 8. Found with reverse 1.

C. Same as 1644 "F" (Plate IX, 141). Hawkins No. 9. Found with reverse 2.

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, nil. Large plume extending well between the two circles. Scroll ornament each side of ⊗, for OX in monogram above, and a wavy line below Declaration, RELIG : PRO / LEG :

ANG : / LIBER : PAR 1645. Pellet before and after and between the words of the legend, which commences at the top from the right of the plume (Plate IX, 143). Hawkins Nos. 7 and 8. Found with obverses A (B. M.) and B.

2. Mint-mark, nil. Large plume ; no inner circle ; Declaration within a cartouche having a lion's head, with an annulet each side, at the top, RELIG : PRO / LEG : ANG / LIBER : PAR 1645 ; pellet each side of date, also between the words of and at the end of the legend (Plate IX, 144). Hawkins No. 9. Found with obverse C.

1646.

Obverse.

A. Same as 1644 " F " or 1645 " C " (Plate IX, 141).

Reverse.

1. Same as 1645 " 2," but dated 1646 (Plate IX, 145).

THREEPENCES.

There was a very small issue of threepences. With the exception of an Aberystwith one, the other obverses are evidently the work of Rawlins, as one has the R under the bust, and the other is the same, but without the R. As regards the reverses, there are three lys instead of plumes, and one is from an Aberystwith die. This last might have been struck before 1644, but as it has for the obverse die one peculiar to that year, I class it as such. The only years in which these were coined were 1644 and 1646.

1644.

Obverse.

A. Aberystwith obverse, No. 4 " C," with MAG in the legend. Mint-mark, open book (Plate IX, 146). Hawkins No. 1. Found with reverse 2.

B. Mint-mark, lys. The bust is a reduction of that on the groat, 1644 BR below the truncation of the shoulder ; mark of value III behind. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET · H : REX. Hawkins No. 2—542. There is only one die of this, and it has a flaw in front of the face, which suggests that the King has a cigarette in his mouth (Plate IX, 147). Found with reverses 1, 3 and 4.

Reverses.

1. Aberystwith No. 2. Mint-mark, **open** book at the end of the legend (Plate IX, 148). Found with obverse B.

2. Mint-mark, pellet (?). Three lys ; the centre one may, however, be meant for a small Shrewsbury plume. A line above and below the Declaration, which is in three lines, RELI : PRO/LEG : ANG/ LIBER : PAR 1644 OX. Pellet between the words of the legend, which begins, as usual, on the left (Plate IX, 149). Found with obverse A.

3. Mint-mark, pellet. A lys, with a smaller one each side. Declaration as on "2." 1644 in small figures ; no OX. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate IX, 150). Found with obverse B.

4. Mint-mark, pellet. Three even-sized lys, otherwise like 3, but date in large figures (Plate IX, 151). Hawkins No. 2—542. Found with obverse B.

1645.

Nil.

1646.

Obverse.

A. Mint-mark, lys ; pellet to left. Bust similar to 1644 B, but the crown cuts the inner circle and is without the R below ; mark of value behind. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : M : BR : F : ET · H : REX · (Plate IX, 152). Hawkins No. 3. Found with reverses 1 and 2. Ruding XXIV, 11.

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, pellet. Same as 1644, "4," but dated 1646, the 6 being struck over the 4 (Plate IX, 153).

2. Mint-mark, pellet. Same as "1," but REL for RELI in Declaration. Hawkins No. 3, Ruding XXIV, 3.

HALF-GROATS.

The bust on the obverse is not well executed ; it appears to be a reduction of that on the sixpence. No plume in front but mark of value behind. A new mint-mark appears, viz., the mullet, which is found also on the penny, the others being the lys and the pellet. The iron for the lys mark is the same as used for the small lys on the Declaration, reverse 2, and it looks sometimes like a cross ; that on the Aberystwith type of reverse is larger and may perhaps be meant for a Shrewsbury plume ; it is possibly from the iron for the large lys or plume on the Declaration reverse.

There is only one dated half-groat, 1644, so the others will be taken as belonging to that year, though doubtless they were struck also in 1645 and 1646.

Obverses.

A. Mint-mark, small lys. Bust as above. Mark of value II behind. Beaded inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX (Plate IX, 154). Hawkins No. 2. Found with reverse 1 and 3.

B. Similar to A, but the mint-mark is certainly a cross and the circle is plain (Plate IX, 155). Found with reverses 1 and 2.

C. Mint-mark, mullet, otherwise similar to A (Plate IX, 156). Found with reverse 1 (Miss H. Farquhar).

D. Mint-mark, pellet, otherwise similar to A (Plate IX, 157). Found with reverse 1.

E. Mint-mark, small lys. Similar to A, but FR for F in legend. Hawkins No. 1. Found with reverse 3. I have not seen this coin.

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, large lys with pellet to right. Aberystwith type large plume with bands within a beaded inner circle. Legend commences at top, · IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRMAT (Plate IX, 158). Found with obverses A, B, C and D.

2. Mint-mark (?). Otherwise as No. 1, but the inner circle is plain. Found with obverse B.

3. Mint-mark, small lys. Lys or Shrewsbury plume, with a smaller one each side; line above and below Declaration, which is in three lines, RELIG : PROT/LEG : ANG : LIB : PAR 1644 OX. Pellet between the words of the legend (Plate IX, 159). Hawkins No. 1, Snelling XI, 2, where the mint-mark is shown as a pellet. Found with obverses A and E. Hawkins No. 3, which I have not seen, appears to me as if its right attribution would be to Bristol.

PENNIES.

The pennies are similar to the half-groats, but smaller, and the mark of value on the obverse is 1. Three are dated 1644, all having a reverse of the Declaration type. The rest are of the Aberystwith type and may have been struck in other years as well. Those having an Aberystwith obverse "A" or "B" could have been issued before 1644, but they will be classed under that year. These latter coins are poorly struck, or they have been so much circulated that it is difficult to decipher their exact details. The remarks made of the form of the lys under the heading of the half-groats apply to the pennies. The mint-marks on those of the Declaration type are uncertain, for they are, as a rule, illegible.

Obverses.

A. Aberystwith obverse B. Mint-mark, open book, pellet each side. Bust with lace collar; mark of value 1 behind. Legend, · CARO : D : G : M : B : F : ET : H : REX · *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 191, Plate III, 18. (Plate IX, 160.) Found with reverse 4 (Miss H. Farquhar).

B. Aberystwith obverse D. Mint-mark, open book. Bust as on the sixpence; mark of value behind. Legend, CAROLVS · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX · *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 192, Plate III, 21 (Plate IX, 161). Found with reverse 1.

C. Mint-mark, pellet (?). Bust like B, but slighter, otherwise as B. The stops in the legend are badly defined and perhaps may all be single pellets (Plate IX, 162). Found with reverse 1 (Miss H. Farquhar).

D. Mint-mark, lys. Bust like that on threepence, 1644, "B." Legend, CARO · D · G · M · B · F · ET · HI · REX (Plate IX, 163). Hawkins No. 5—551. From its similarity to the threepence of 1646 A, this may have been coined that year. Found with reverses 3 (B. M.), 5 Snelling, XI, 1.

E. Mint-mark, lys. Bust like that on half-groat obverse A. Legend, CAROL · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX (Plate IX, 164). Hawkins No. 4. Found with reverses 2, 6 (Montagu Sale, Lot 529) and 7 (Miss H. Farquhar). On this last coin it is impossible to decipher the mint-mark, as it is somewhat overstruck.

F. Mint-mark, lys. Same as E, but legend reads, CAROLVS and apparently single pellets between the words (Plate IX, 165). Hawkins No. 1—553. Found with reverse 6. Hawkins 553 is evidently meant for the B. M. specimen (Plate IX, 165), from which it can be seen that the VS of CAROLVS is doubtful.

Reverses.

1. Mint-mark, four pellets. Plume smaller than on the Aberystwith 4th penny. Legend, IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRMAT (Plate IX, 166). Found with obverses B and C (Miss H. Farquhar).

2. Mint-mark, lys, plume very small. Legend, IVSTITIA · THRO · FIRMAT. Coarse work (Plate IX, 167). Found with obverse E.

3. Mint-mark, mullet, otherwise as 2, but THRON in legend (Plate IX, 168). Found with obverse D (B.M.).

4. Mint-mark, pellet, otherwise as 2, but THRONVM in legend. Found with obverses A (Miss H. Farquhar) and C (Miss H. Farquhar).

5. Mint-mark, lys. Three lys, the centre one may be meant for a Shrewsbury plume ; line above and below the legend, which is in three lines, RELIG · PRO / LEG · ANG / LIB · PAR 1644; pellet between the words of the legend. Hawkins No. 3. Found with obverse E Snelling XI, 1.

6. Mint-mark, lys. As "5," but LIBER in the legend. Found with obverse E (?). Hawkins No. 2—553, or Montagu Sale, Lot 529. Hawkins No. 1, reads PROT (Plate IX, 169, is from the B. M. specimen, but the mint-mark is doubtful).

7. Mint-mark, pellet, otherwise as 6. Found with obverse E (Miss H. Farquhar).

HALF-PENNIES.

If any were issued, they were probably struck from Aberystwith dies.

As some of the smaller denominations which have hitherto been attributed to Aberystwith, are now given to Oxford, an explanation is necessary. Very little money was coined at Aberystwith after the removal of the Mint to Shrewsbury in September, 1642. Mr. H. Symonds, in his paper *A Glance inside the Mint of Aberystwith in the Reign of Charles I.*¹ states that the only entries in the *Harley MS. No. 18760* of work done there were, first, 73 lbs. of coined metal in the months of January to March, 1645-46, and, second, 8 lbs. in February, 1648-49. This latter date does not apply, as it was after the surrender of Oxford. The denominations struck are not mentioned, but as dies for all coins from the half-crown to the penny were delivered up to General Thomas Harrington on February 23rd, 1648-49, it is probable that all may have been coined. In the months of January to March, 1645-46, Royalist affairs were going from bad to worse ; Bushell himself was closely besieged in Lundy Island, and Oxford was approaching its surrender. The probability is that the dies used on these occasions were some left behind by Bushell on his migration in 1642.

The coins themselves tell us more. I will take, for example, the threepence B 1 with the Aberystwith reverse No. 2. The obverse

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii., p. 205.

die " B " has the same flaw, which I have already referred to, namely, that in front of the King's face, as is found on those of " B " with reverses 3 and 4 with the Declaration and dated 1644, thus showing that they were all struck at the same place, which must have been Oxford. In like manner, in the half-groats, Mr. F. A. Walters has one of A 1 with the Aberystwith type of reverse, and another, A 2, with the Declaration type dated 1644, which must have been struck with the same obverse die, as they both have the same accidental flaws. The other obverses B and C have the same reverse as A, namely, " 1," so they also should belong to Oxford.

The pennies present greater difficulties, especially those with the obverses " A " and " B," which are Aberystwith dies. It is the reverse " 1 " that has to be dealt with ; for all the true dies have the open book for a mint-mark, whilst this has four pellets (•••), the plume is smaller, and the lettering is slightly different. " A " is found with reverse 4, which is of quite different work. Likewise the penny " D 3 " has, apart from the design of the reverse, no appearance of any connection with Aberystwith, and its plume appears to have been struck with the iron used for punching the three even plumes on the reverse of the half-crown ; moreover, it has a mullet for the mint-mark. These remarks apply to F 2 with the lys mint-mark, which is also used with reverse " 5 " of the Declaration type and dated 1644.

In the enumeration of the coins on the foregoing pages, those with names attached to them show in whose possession they were when I saw them ; those with references to Hawkins, Ruding or Snelling indicate the source of my information, and, further, that I have not seen them ; and (B. M.) denotes that the coin is in the National Collection.

NOTE.—Since this article was written I have come to the conclusion that half-crowns A 9, F 8, F 10, F 11, F 12, F 13, and shillings C 5 and C 6 are the first coins struck at Bristol, and should therefore be transferred to that Mint.—H. W. M.

TABLE A.

HIGHER DENOMINATIONS.

Obverses.

Date.		POUNDS.		HALF-POUNDS.		CROWNS.	
			Remarks.		Remarks.		Remarks.
1642	Obverse with Reverses	A B C D		A		A	A is Shrewsbury "B"
		1 2 2 2		1, 2		1, 2	
1643	Obverse with Reverses	A B C	A is 1642 "A"	A	A is 1642 "A"	A B	A is 1642 "A"
		2 1 2	B is 1642 "B"	1		2, 3 1, 3	
1644	Obverse with Reverse	A	A is 1642 "A"			A	
		1				1	

TABLE B.

HIGHER DENOMINATIONS.

Reverses.

Date.		POUNDS.		HALF-POUNDS.		CROWNS.	
			Remarks.		Remarks.		Remarks.
1642	Reverse with Obverses	1 2	1 is Shrewsbury "4"	1 2	1 is Shrewsbury "3"	1 2	
		A B, C, D		A A		A A	
1643	Reverse with Obverses	1 2		1		1 2 3	
		B A, C		A		B A A, B	
1644	Reverse with Obverse	1				1	
		A				A	

TABLE C.

HALF-CROWNS.

Obverses.

Date.													Remarks.
1642	Obverse with Reverses	A	B	C	D	E	F	G					A is Shrewsbury "D" B is Shrewsbury "F"
		2	2, 4	1, 2 3, 5	2, 3	3	3	3					
1643	Obverse with Reverses	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	
		2, 3, 7, 9, 15 16	3	4	3, 5	1, 2	8, 10, 11, 12, 13	2, 4 6	17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23	1, 22, 23, 24, 28	23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29	19, 26, 28, 29	
1644	Obverse with Reverses	A	B	C	D	E	F	G					A is 1643 "J" B is 1643 "K"
		11	9, 12	2, 3, 4, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20	10	5, 6, 8, 14	8, 18,	1, 6 7, 13					
1645	Obverse with Reverses	A	B	C	D	E	F	G					"A" is 1644 "C"
		3, 4, 5, 9	1	1, 4	1	6, 7	2, 7	8					
1646	Obverse with Reverses	A	B	C									"A" is 1645 "F"
		1	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 2, 3, 4									

TABLE

HALF-CROWNS—

[illegible]

D.

Reverses.

														Remarks.
														1 is Shrewsbury 6.
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	17 to 22 are Intermediate; also 1. 23 to 29 are Last Period.
A	H	H	H,K	H	H	H,I	H,I,J	I	J	J,K	J	I,J,K	J,K	
16	17	18	19	20										
C	C	C,F	C	C										

N

TABLE E.

SHILLINGS.

Obverses.

Date.										Remarks.
1642	Obverse with Reverses	A 1, 2	B 3, 4	C 4	D 3					A is Shrewsbury "B"
1643	Obverse with Reverses	A 3	B 2, 4	C 5, 6	D 1, 2, 3, 7	E 8	F 3, 8	G 9		A is 1642 "C" G belongs to Last Period.
1644	Obverse with Reverses	A 5	B 5, 8	C 1, 4, 7	D 1, 2, 7, 10, 11	E 6	F 9	G 3	H 12	A is 1643 "D" B is 1643 "G"
1645	Obverse with Reverse	A 1								A is 1644 "D"
1646	Obverse with Reverses	A 1, 2								A is 1644 "D"

TABLE F.

SHILLINGS.

Reverses.

Date.														Remarks.
1642	{ Reverse with Obverses	1 A	2 A	3 B, D	4 B, C									"9" belongs to Last Period
1643	{ Reverse with Obverses	1 D	2 B, D	3 A, D, F	4 B	5 C	6 C	7 D	8 E, F	9 G				
1644	{ Reverse with Obverses	1 C, D	2 D	3 G	4 C	5 A, B	6 E	7 C, D	8 B	9 F	10 D	11 D	12 H	
1645	{ Reverse with Obverse	1 A												
1646	{ Reverse with Obverses	1 A	2 A											

N 2

TABLE

Obverses.

THE SMALLER

Date.	Sixpences.			Groats.	
			Remarks.		Remarks.
1642 {	Obverse with Reverses	A B 1 1	A same as Aberystwith C		
1643 {	Obverse with Reverses	A B 1, 3, 4 2, 3, 4	A same as 1642 A		
1644 {	Obverse with Reverses	A 1	Same as groat 2	A B C D E F 1 1, 2 2 2 2 2	A same as Aberystwith B 2 same as sixpence 1
1645 {	Obverse with Reverse			A B C 1 1 2	A same as 1644 B; B same as 1644 D; C same as 1644 F
1646 {	Obverse with Reverses			A 1	Same as 1644 F

TABLE

Reverses.

THE SMALLER

Date.	Sixpences.			Groats.	
			Remarks.		Remarks.
1642 {	Reverse with Obverses	1 A, B			
1643 {	Reverse with Obverses	1 2 3 4 A B A, B A, B			
1644 {	Reverse with Obverses	1 A	Same as groat 2	1 2 A, B B, C, D, E, F	2 same as sixpence 1
1645 {	Reverse with Obverses			1 2 A, B C	
1646 {	Reverse with Obverse			1 A	

G.

DENOMINATIONS.

Obverses.

Threepences.			Half-Groats.			Pennies.								
		Remarks.			Remarks.						Remarks.			
A	B	Same as Aberystwith C	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	F	A same as Aberystwith B B same as Aberystwith D
2	1, 3, 4		1, 3	1, 2	1	1	3	4	1	1	3, 5	2, 6, 7	6	
A														
1, 2														

H.

DENOMINATIONS.

Reverses.

Threepences.				Half-Groats.				Pennies.						
				Remarks.					Remarks					
1	2	3	4	1 same as Aberystwith 2	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B	A	B	B		A, B,	B	A, E	B, C	E	D	A, C	E	E	E
1														
2														
A														
A														

EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

PLATE I.

Pounds.

1. 1642, 1643, and 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume, with two pellets (:) each side.
2. 1642. Obverse B. Mint-mark, plume, cannon amongst arms.
3. 1642. Obverse C. Mint-mark, plume, with two pellets (:) to left.
4. 1642. Obverse D. Mint-mark, plume, exergue chequered.
5. 1642. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, five pellets (:•:), Shrewsbury reverse 4.
6. 1643. Obverse C. Mint-mark, plume. Briot's horse.
7. 1643. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, seven pellets (•••••).
8. 1644. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, large single plume.

PLATE II.

Half-Pounds.

9. 1642 and 1643. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to left.
10. 1642. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, two pellets (:).
11. 1642. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, seven pellets (•••••).
12. 1643. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, four pellets (•••).

Crowns.

13. 1642 and 1643. Obverse A. Mint-mark, pellet, Shrewsbury obverse B.
14. 1642. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, two pellets (:).
15. 1642. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, four pellets (•••).
16. 1643. Obverse B. Mint-mark, plume.
17. 1643. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, five (?) pellets (:••).
18. 1643. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, seven pellets (•••••).
19. 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, floriated cross.
20. 1644. Reverse 1. No mint-mark.

PLATE III.

Half-Crowns.

21. 1642. Obverse A. Mint-mark, two pellets (••), Shrewsbury obverse D.
22. 1642. Obverse B. Mint-mark, plume without coronet or bands, with two pellets (:) to the left ; Shrewsbury obverse F.
23. 1642. Obverse C. Mint-mark, plume.
24. 1642. Obverse D. Mint-mark, plume, with two pellets (:) to left and one to right.
25. 1642. Obverse E. Mint-mark, plume.
26. 1642. Obverse F. Mint-mark, plume.
27. 1642. Obverse G. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume.
28. 1642. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••), Shrewsbury reverse 6.
29. 1642. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, two pellets (••).
30. 1642. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, two pellets (••).
31. 1642. Reverse 4. Mint-mark, two pellets (••).
32. 1642. Reverse 5. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••).
33. 1643. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume.
34. 1643. Obverse B. Mint-mark, plume ; " A " beneath horse.
35. 1643. Obverse D. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to left.

PLATE IV.

Half-Crowns, 1643.

36. 1643. Obverse E. Mint-mark, plume.
37. 1643. Obverse F. Mint-mark, pellet.
38. 1643. Obverse H. Mint-mark, plume.
39. 1643. Obverse I. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to left.
40. 1643. Obverse J, and 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, rosette, with pellet to left.
41. 1643. Obverse K, and 1644. Obverse B. Mint-mark, rosette and plume with two pellets to the left.
42. 1643. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, two pellets (••).
43. 1643. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, two pellets (••).
44. 1643. Reverse 5. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••).
45. 1643. Reverse 7. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••••).

- 46. 1643. Reverse 8. Mint-mark, four wedge-shape pellets (✕).
- 47. 1643. Reverse 12. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••).
- 48. 1643. Reverse 13. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••).
- 49. 1643. Reverse 15. Mint-mark ✕.
- 50. 1643. Reverse 20. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••••).
- 51. 1643. Reverse 22. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••).
- 52. 1643. Reverse 23. Mint-mark, rosette.
- 53. 1643. Reverse 24. Mint-mark, rosette with two pellets (••) to left.
- 54. 1643. Reverse 26. Mint-mark, rosette with pellet each side.
- 55. 1643. Reverse 29. Mint-mark, pellet.

PLATE V.

Half-Crowns, 1644.

- 56. 1644. Obverse C, and 1645. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to left.
- 57. 1644. Obverse D. Mint-mark, plume, with two pellets (••) each side.
- 58. 1644. Obverse E. Mint-mark, small Shrewsbury plume, with pellet to left.
- 59. 1644. Obverse F. Mint-mark, plume.
- 60. 1644. Obverse G. Mint-mark, small Shrewsbury plume, with lozenge to left.
- 61. 1644. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, lozenge, with two pellets (••) each side.
- 62. 1644. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••••) very close together.
- 63. 1644. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, billet.
- 64. 1644. Reverse 4. Mint-mark, billet, with two pellets (••) each side of it.
- 65. 1644. Reverse 5. Mint-mark, lozenge.
- 66. 1644. Reverse 6. Mint-mark, lozenge with two pellets (••) each side of it.
- 67. 1644. Reverse 7. Mint-mark, four lozenges (◆◆◆◆).
- 68. 1644. Reverse 8. Mint-mark, five lozenges (◆◆◆◆◆).
- 69. 1644. Reverse 9. Mint-mark, rosette.
- 70. 1644. Reverse 10. Mint-mark, rosette or large pellet.
- 71. 1644. Reverse 12. Mint-mark, rosette, with two pellets (••) each side of it.
- 72. 1644. Reverse 13. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 73. 1644. Reverse 18. Mint-mark, pellet.
- 74. 1644. Reverse 19. Mint-mark, rosette, with two lozenges each side of it.
- 75. 1644. Reverse 20. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume, with two pellets (••) to left.

PLATE VI.

Half-Crowns.

76. 1645. Obverse C. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to left.
77. 1645. Obverse D. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to right.
78. 1645. Obverse E. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to right.
79. 1645. Obverse G. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet each side.
80. 1645. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, rosette.
81. 1645. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, rosette.
82. 1645. Reverse 5. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••).
83. 1645. Reverse 7. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••).
84. 1645. Reverse 8. Mint-mark, pellet.
85. 1645. Obverse F, and 1646. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to right.
86. 1646. Obverse B. Mint-mark, plume.
87. 1646. Obverse C. Mint-mark, plume, with pellet to left.
88. 1646. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••).
89. 1646. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••).
90. 1646. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••) on right of coin.
91. 1646. Reverse 4. Mint-mark, five pellets (•••) on right of coin.

Shillings.

92. 1642. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume without coronet or bands, Shrewsbury
obverse B.
93. 1642. Obverse B, and 1643. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume.
94. 1642. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, pellet.
95. 1642. Reverse 4. Mint-mark, two pellets (••).

PLATE VII.

Shillings.

96. 1643. Obverse B. Mint-mark, plume.
97. 1643. Obverse C. Mint-mark, plume.
98. 1643. Obverse D, and 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, plume.
99. 1643. Obverse F. Mint-mark, plume.
100. 1643. Obverse G, and 1644. Obverse B. Mint-mark, plume.
101. 1643. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, pellet.
102. 1643. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, two pellets (••).
103. 1643. Reverse 5. Mint-mark, two pellets (••).
104. 1643. Reverse 6. Mint-mark, four small pellets (••••).

Shillings.

- Sixpences.*

- Digitized by Google

Groats.

136. 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, open book, with pellet each side. Aberystwith
4 groat.
137. 1644. Obverse B, and 1645. Obverse A. Mint-mark, floriated cross, with
pellet each side.

PLATE IX.

Groats.

138. 1644. Obverse C. Mint-mark, lys, with pellet to left.
139. 1644. Obverse D, and 1645. Obverse B. Mint-mark, nil.
140. 1644. Obverse E. Mint-mark, nil.
141. 1644. Obverse F, and 1645. Obverse C, and 1646. Obverse A. Mint-mark, nil.
142. 1644. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, lozenge, with two pellets (•) each side.
143. 1645. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, nil.
144. 1645. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, nil.
145. 1646. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, nil.

Threepence.

146. 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, open book. Aberystwith Obverse 4. " C "
with MAG in legend.
147. 1644. Obverse B. Mint-mark, lys.
148. 1644. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, open book. Aberystwith No. 2.
149. 1644. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, pellet.
150. 1644. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, pellet.
151. 1644. Reverse 4. Mint-mark, pellet.
152. 1646. Obverse A. Mint-mark, lys, with pellet to left.
153. 1646. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, pellet.

Half-Groats.

154. 1644. Obverse A. Mint-mark, small lys.
155. 1644. Obverse B. Mint-mark, cross.
156. 1644. Obverse C. Mint-mark, mullet.
157. 1644. Obverse D. Mint-mark, pellet.
158. 1644. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, lys.
159. 1644. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, small lys.

Pennies.

160. Obverse A. Mint-mark, open book, with pellet each side. Aberystwith
obverse B.
161. Obverse B. Mint-mark, open book. Aberystwith obverse D.
162. Obverse C. Mint-mark, pellet (?)
163. Obverse D. Mint-mark, lys.
164. Obverse E. Mint-mark, lys.
165. Obverse F. Mint-mark, lys.
166. Reverse 1. Mint-mark, 4 pellets (••••).
167. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, lys.
168. Reverse 3. Mint-mark, mullet.
169. Reverse 6. Mint-mark, lys.

Shilling.

170. 1642. Reverse 2. Mint-mark, two pellets (••).


Half-Crown.

171. 1643. Reverse 14. Mint-mark, four pellets (••••).

FURTHER NOTES ON THE IRISH COINAGE, 1641-1652.¹

By THE LATE F. WILLSON YEATES.

THE EDITOR'S NOTE.—On the death of Mr. Frederick Willson Yeates, in November, 1922, these notes were found unfinished in his desk. Miss Helen Farquhar, having had the privilege and pleasure of discussing with him the short paper he proposed to write as a sequel to his former interesting article, offered her services to Mrs. Willson Yeates to check the documents and fill in any missing references. This, with the help of Mr. Lionel Fletcher, has been done, and it has been thought best to publish the notes left by Mr. Yeates almost without any alteration or amplification, as no one is in a position to know how far Mr. Yeates would have followed up certain clues and have possibly developed this postscript into a further treatise.

S the result of the publication of the writer's paper on "The Coinage of Ireland during the Rebellion, 1641-1652," in vol. xv of the British Numismatic Society's *Journal*, 1919-1920, and of continued research, material for a further paper has accumulated.

1. *The Kilkenny Money.*

The Confederated Catholics, by their order of 15th November, 1642, directed that "the plate of this kingdom be coined with the ordinary stamps used in the moneys now currant." To this order the writer ascribed two coins on square flans, the one showing the

¹ Postscript to the article in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xv.

King on horseback, and the other the King's head, with the Royal Arms in oval and square shields respectively on the reverse, and both without any legends; and he showed that these coins, which were illustrated on Plate I, Figs. 4 and 5 of his article, were copies of the Tower half-crown and shilling, with the mint-mark triangle in circle, Figs. 6 and 7. The square shilling weighed 61 grains, which roughly corresponded to the Irish standard weight.

Miss Farquhar has been fortunate in adding to her collection a hitherto unpublished square sixpence of this issue, which may be described as follows:—

Obverse.—Crowned head of Charles I to left within a plain circle.

Reverse.—The Royal Arms on a square shield garnished, within a circle. Struck on a piece of silver three-quarters of an inch in diameter, nearly square shaped. Weight 29·3 grains.

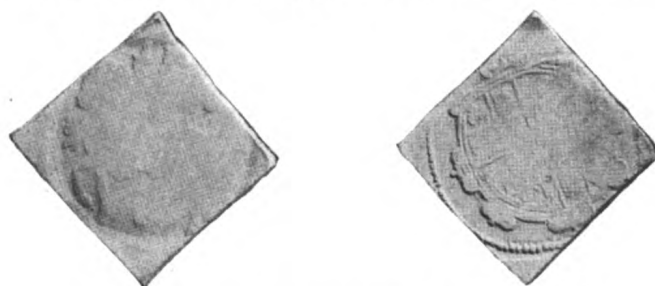
The coin is unfortunately too poorly struck to illustrate well, but it would appear to be a rough copy of the Tower sixpence, 4th type, with square shield on the reverse, which was issued from 1637 onward. No doubt the die had the numerals VI behind the King's head, but there is little trace of them on the coin, although part of the V is discernible, and the inner circle corresponds in measurement with that upon an average sixpence, so far as one may tell, considering that only a part of the design finds its place upon so small a coin.



IRISH SIXPENCE IN MISS FARQUHAR'S COLLECTION.

The writer's half-crown, it will be remembered, was struck upon a copper blank, but a similar piece in silver has been brought

to his notice in the British Museum.¹ It weighs only $118\frac{1}{2}$ grains, rather less than twice the weight of Miss Farquhar's shilling.



IRISH HALF-CROWN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The design, as in the case of the writer's example, is too large for the blank, and being somewhat differently placed, it is here illustrated; indeed, it is possible that a second die was used on both obverse and reverse—certainly on the latter.

On page 199 of his original paper the writer refers to an octagonal threepence with the lion mint-mark. This coin also is now in Miss Farquhar's collection. It has the numerals III behind the King's head, and weighs $23\frac{1}{2}$ grains, which is about 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains heavier than the ordinary York specimens of the Charles I threepence. It is, therefore, intended to be a trial piece of the English standard weight, which is $23\frac{1}{4}$ grains, and could not belong to the Confederated Catholics issue. The writer has heard nothing of the two square coins with the lion mint-mark, illustrated by Ruding, which might perhaps represent a crown and a sixpence of the Confederated Catholics issue. The appearance of the square sixpence recently discovered makes this attribution very unlikely, but until the coins themselves appear the point may be left open.

2. The Ormond Money.

On page 205 of his original paper the writer had to admit that he had been unable to trace the publication in England or Ireland of the proclamation making the Ormond issue current in England as well as Ireland.

¹ A third example, of five silver, is in the Cathedral Library, Winchester.—
W. J. Andrew, Editor.

In Messrs. Sotheby's book sale on the 20th of June, 1922, appeared, as Lot 514, a collection of 90 Stuart proclamations in two volumes belonging to Major G. Wentworth, of Woody Park, Wakefield, and No. 43 annotated in 1905 as "said to be unique," was catalogued as a print of the proclamation making the Ormond coins current in England. Unfortunately this No. 43 proved to be only the first page of the proclamation, and nowhere in the two volumes could the second page be traced by the writer's emissary; but by an extraordinary coincidence a print of the second sheet only is in the British Museum.¹



ORMOND MONEY.

After setting out the Lords Justices' proclamation of the 8th of July, 1643, making the Ormond coins current in Ireland, substantially in the form given by Simon in his Appendix XLVII, the English proclamation proceeds:—

"And whereas our pleasure and purpose was and is that the said several pieces of coyne should be made to passe currant as well in this our Kingdome of *England* as in that of *Ireland*. We doe by this our proclamation publish and Declare to all our Subjects

¹ See Proclamation II, Charles I, 21, h. 1 (81).

within this our Kingdome of *England* and Dominion of *Wales* That all such pieces as already are, or shall be coyned according to Our said Letters and the Commission thereupon granted doe, and shall presently, after the publishing of this Our Proclamation, be currant mony of and in this Our Kingdome of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and doe, and shall passe as currant Mony in all exchanges and payments, as well of debts as for any Wares Merchandizes or other commodities whatsoever. And we doe hereby will and require, that this Our Proclamation, be forthwith published, and Proclaimed, throughout all Cities and places of this Our Kingdome of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*.

"Given at Our Court at OXFORD this thirteenth day of October in the nineteenth yeare of our Raigne 1643.

"God save the King.

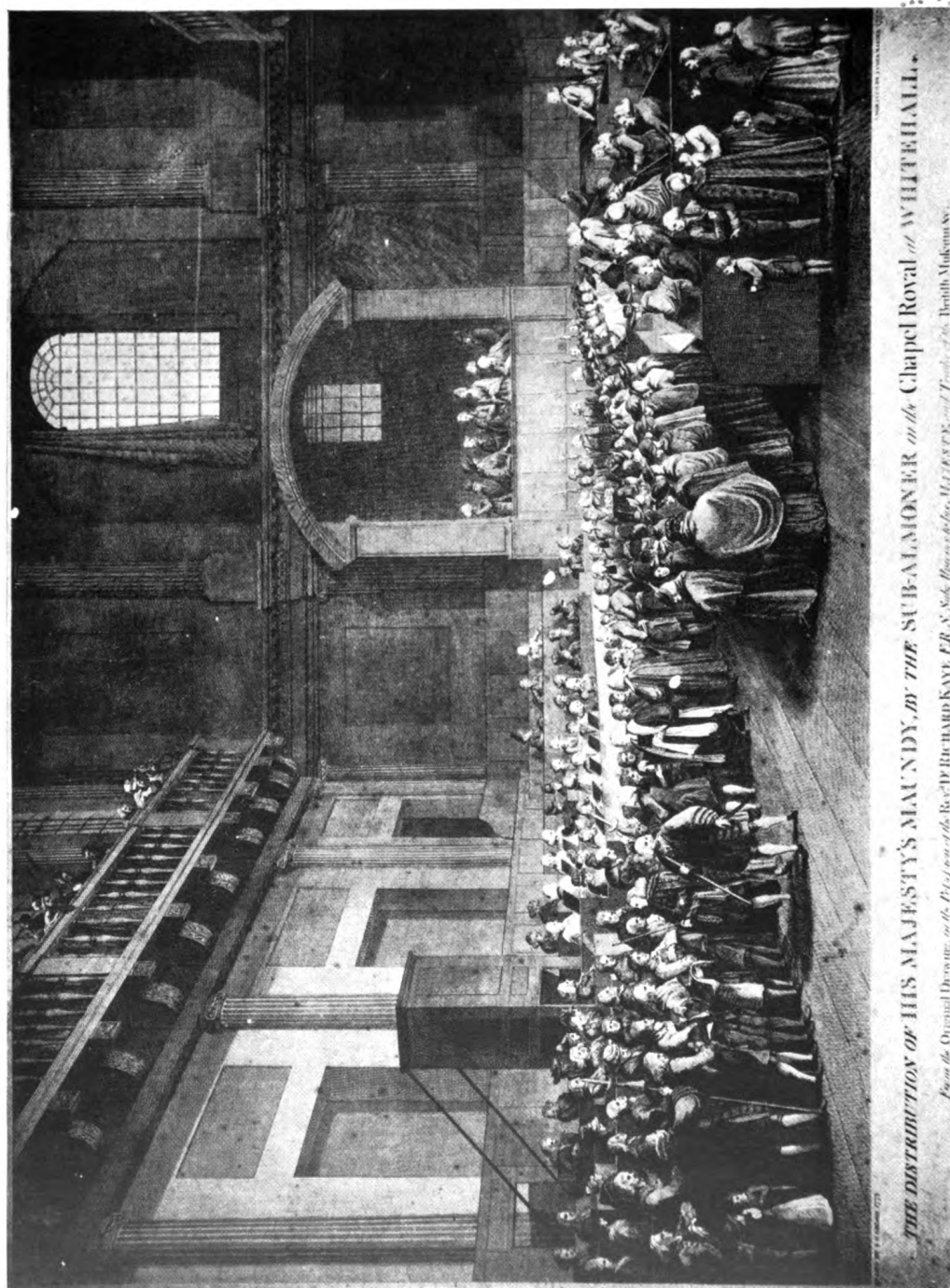
"Printed at Oxford by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University, 1643."

To make the documents relating to this issue complete, there only remains to be found a copy of the proclamation by the Irish Lords Justices, dated between the 13th of October and the 11th of December, 1643, informing the Irish public that the issue had been made current in England and Wales as well as in Ireland. It will be noticed that Scotland is not mentioned in the proclamation.

The writer's statement on page 205 of his original paper that Lord Ormond had not anything to do with the issue of the Ormond money must be modified, because the copy in the British Museum of the King's proclamation of the 13th of October, 1643, after setting out the Lords Justices' proclamation of the 8th of July, 1643, sets out the signatures to that proclamation, which are not given by Simon. On the first line below the date was "La. Dublin,"¹ "Ormond," followed by the signatures of "Roscomon, Edw. Brabazon, Ant. Midensis, Cha. Lambert, I. Temple, Tho. Rotherham, Fr. Willoughby, Tho. Lucas, Iam. Ware, and G. Wentworth."

¹ La[ncclot Bulkeley, Archbishop of] Dublin.

22



THE DISTRIBUTION OF HIS MAJESTY'S MAUNDY, BY THE SUB-ALMONER, in the Chapel Royal of WHITEHALL.

From the Original Drawing, in the Possession of the Rev. Dr. Richard Kaye, F.R.S. See Memoirs de la Vie, Mœurs, &c. of the Death of the

MAUNDY IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.


An Engraving in the Collection of Mr. Richard Ponsonby-Fane.

ROYAL CHARITIES.

(SECOND SERIES.)

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

The Maundy.

MONGST the readers of the *British Numismatic Journal* some there may be who, having followed year by year in our Volumes XII, XIII, XIV and XV my studies concerning the history of the Healing Piece, will be inclined to turn their attention to other forms of almsgiving practised by our monarchs. Let us consider therefore "the Maundy," "the King's Dole," "the Pryvy Almes," and "the Dayly Almes," as we find the various charities described in the quaint spelling of the Tudor manuscripts.

By far the most familiar to the ear of the present day is the word Maundy, because this distribution alone preserves its ancient name and much of its ancient character. But I must preface my remarks by explaining that the expression "Maundy money" at one time covered a wider field than it now suggests. To the modern mind Maundy means a charitable distribution incident to a service held on Holy Thursday in Westminster Abbey, and to the numismatist it recalls a certain series of small silver coins. I purpose therefore to give a short sketch from the historical point of view of the Maundy-Thursday ceremonial, the most picturesque of our royal charities, reserving to a later volume the discussion of the other monetary distributions which more constantly claimed from the monarch's privy-purse a liberal supply of small silver pieces.

The current literature on the Maundy, apart from books of devotion or Church ordinances, although interesting, is not very extensive. Mr. W. J. Hocking gave us valuable information in his *Mint Catalogue* in 1906.¹ A scholarly essay on the subject by Mr. Cornelius Nicholls appeared in 1907.² A couple of popular letters were addressed to lads by the Rev. Edgar Rogers in 1914.³ Mr. William C. Stone in 1915 read some notes on this charity before the Springfield, Massachusetts, Stamp Club.⁴ In 1917 a useful paper was contributed by the late Mr. William Charlton, shortly before his death, to one of our learned Societies.⁵ Much interesting information concerning the charities of the Scottish kings was ably extracted by Monsieur Louis Barbé in 1919 from the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*.⁶ But so far as I am aware no one has endeavoured to separate the Maundy with its initial service, the pedilavium, from the other doles or royal benefactions incidental to Holy Thursday and Good Friday, and the daily gifts to the "Poor at the Gate." There was published in April, 1893, a valuable article from the pen of Mr. H. J. Bidwell, then secretary of Her Majesty's Almonry, to Queen Victoria, explaining the various royal charities, but the subject is not there treated from the numismatic point of view. I, however, owe my thanks to the late Canon Edgar Sheppard, K.C.V.O., D.D., Sub-dean of the Chapels Royal, to the late Mr. Arthur Wallace, who, as successor to Mr. Bidwell, lent me the manuscript in the Almonry Office, and to the succeeding Secretary, Mr. T. Norgate who died in 1922, for further elucidating the

¹ Appendix III, *Royal Mint Catalogue*, vol. i, pp. 422-424.

² *Maundy Celebrations Ancient and Modern*, originally printed in *The Home Counties Magazine*.

³ *The Scout Message*, April and May, 1914.

⁴ *The Numismatist*, September, 1915. See also correspondence in the following November number.

⁵ *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. xxxiv, 1917.

⁶ *Side Lights on the History, Industries and Social Life in Scotland*. Part I. *High Days and Holidays*, pp. 265-282.

evolution of the royal almsgiving. I have derived invaluable assistance from the pyx lists of Mr. Henry Symonds, and from the kindly help of Mr. W. J. Hocking and of the Rev. Edgar Rogers respecting the numismatic side of the Maundy question. With regard to the ceremonies, Dr. George Williamson has procured for me important information concerning the pedilavium as still performed in the Catholic Church.¹ Setting aside, as known to all readers, such useful books as Brand's *Popular Antiquities*,² Hone's *Everyday Book* and Chambers' *Book of Days*, I would still attract attention to other literature, including descriptions of the Maundy amongst Church or biographical matters. Amongst these I refer the reader specially to Dr. Edgar Sheppard's,³ Mr. H. J. Feasey's,⁴ Dr. Adrian Fortescue's,⁵ and Father Herbert Thurston's⁶ books. From the above we gather the various ceremonials practised. They differ materially in the Roman and Anglican Rites, the former having in many countries preserved almost the full symbolism of the "pedilavium" performed by royal princes and by those of the Church assisted by the lesser dignitaries, whilst with us most of the oldest part of the services has been laid aside in favour of a larger charitable distribution more suitable to the times in which we live. It is with the British side of the question that I purpose to deal, not forgetting that, until the Reformation, or rather until after the death of Mary I, our practices ran on the same lines as those of our foreign neighbours. We may go yet further and say that it was not until a strong feeling arose against the attempts of James II to re-establish in positions of

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Williamson for accounts of the pedilavium as still performed in Italy, and he tells me that in London the Cardinal Archbishop, girded with a towel, still kisses and washes the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday in Westminster Cathedral.

² John Brand's *Popular Antiquities* was published in 1813 after the death of the author, under the editorship of Sir Henry Ellis.

³ *Old Palace of Whitehall*.

⁴ *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, 1897.

⁵ *Rites of Holy Week in the Holy Week Book* compiled from the *Roman Missal*, 1916.

⁶ *Lent and Holy Week*, pp. 274-325, published 1904 by Herbert Thurston, S.J.

trust—a procedure at that time illegal—the professors of the more ancient form of worship in England, that an ultra “Protestant” King William III abandoned the yearly washing of the feet of the poor by the monarch in person.¹

With regard to our pre-Tudor history, the constant courtesy tendered to me both in the Manuscript and Medal Rooms in the British Museum, and in the Research Room at the Public Record Office, have rendered my task easier. But the uncertainties of obsolete Norman-French Manuscripts and the contracted Latin of others have, prior to the time of Henry VIII, occasionally presented insuperable difficulties to me. I have consequently largely restricted the earlier portion of my history to matter contained in printed books, or have confined myself to reliance on the courteous help extended by my friends. But the *Exchequer Rolls* and *Wardrobe Books* of the Tudors are mostly in English, and from these I have gleaned new evidence, so that it is in studying their reigns and those of the succeeding monarchs, that I hope to disentangle the Maundy from other royal charities.

Mr. Feasey, in his *Ancient English Holy Week Cereemonial*,² tells us that the rite can be “traced back to the pedilavium (lavenda) of the fifth century which followed the Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday.” He explains that in the Early Church the ceremony of washing the feet of the poor was not limited to that day alone, and states that prior to the Norman Conquest the “pedilavium” was performed daily in some monasteries, and that this was the custom of St. Oswald.³ But in course of time it became usual for our monarchs to celebrate the day preceding Good Friday in particular commemoration of the Cœna Domini. Gradually a generous accompaniment was established on that day to the ordinary ceremony in gifts of clothes, food or money, to which the name of Maundy was

¹ We shall see later that the ablutions were not invariably performed by the King in person, but this was the more usual practice in Tudor and Stuart times.

² Feasey, p. 108.

³ *Ibid.*

given. This name eventually superseded that of Shere-Thursday¹ as applied to the Thursday in Holy Week, but sometimes both appear in one and the same manuscript of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Occasionally I have found an account of the items needed for the ablutions and the accompanying gifts noted in the Tudor manuscripts under the date of Good Friday, and in Scotland Monsieur Barbé calls attention to the transference under James VI in 1580 of the presentation, to the King's birthday, June 19,² his guardians disapproving of the "pedilavium" which had been discontinued from the time when Mary Queen of Scots had ceased to reign. But these exceptions need not at present trouble us, because for some centuries both Catholic and Protestant countries have chosen the Thursday in Holy Week for the day of the Maundy observance.

Like the Healing Piece, the subject of our earlier articles on the *Royal Charities*, the money gift offered at the Maundy celebration was at first, as it still is in some Catholic countries, at all courts only a token of the donor's goodwill, part of the hospitality tendered in the symbolical service in which washing the feet of the guests was the most important part. It is interesting to find that the money given in 1504 by Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, after her marriage in the previous year to James IV of Scotland, was still the current coin of her own country of origin, thereby making a gift which was probably preserved by the recipients.³

¹ Shere, Scher, Shir, Skeyre, Skire, or Skyre Thursday, as it is variously spelt in manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, owes its name, according to a book of homilies in the handwriting of the earlier of these centuries, to the cleansing preparation for Easter. See *Brit. Mus. Harl. MS.*, 2247, p. 85: "Faders in olde dayes had an custom wh: was for to scher ye heer that day of hedes and beredis so to make them honest wh oute forth agaynst Estyrn day, for on Godes-day they wolde not be shrave."

² *Sidelights on the History of Scottish Industries*, etc., p. 270, and *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. i, p. cccliii, Appendix iv to Preface.

³ Margaret's gift was in "Ingls Penneis," at that time the equivalent of the Scottish threepence, and James IV presented Scottish shillings equalling the English groat. The usual dole of James III and his queen had been in Scottish pence. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 71, and vol. ii, p. 259.

English money was, however, current in Scotland and worth, as the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts of that date prove, three times the value of the coin of the same name in Scotland. The pennies may have formed part of the first instalment, which was paid in the previous September, of the dowry of £10,000 which Margaret brought to her husband.¹

James IV, not to be outdone in generosity, in lieu of the Scots pence of his forebears, presented his 32 bedemen with 32 Scottish shillings each, so that his donations cost him £51, and he later, as is shown by the Treasurer's accounts for 1511, caused "twelf penny grotis" to be specially made, giving for the purpose a "gret silver stopis to be coined."²

It is indeed clear that certain "merelli" or jettons with suitable inscriptions but no spending value, were sometimes distributed to the priests and others who assisted at the ceremony.³ In some foreign countries medals were, nay are, given in remembrance of the occasion, even a book being deemed a suitable gift in the Roman Church.⁴ The Papal and Austrian distribution included a medal on a gold chain. On the other hand the late Monsieur H. de la Tour once showed me at the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the Cabinet des Médailles, a very rare and interesting, although artistically worthless little jetton of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, upon which is represented a leg with the foot immersed in water, and which he naturally believed to have some connection with the pedilavium at the French Court.

¹ See Samuel Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, p. 130 : 5,000 "crownes of soleills" and a further sum of £2,333 6s. 8d., of which the specie is not mentioned. According to the marriage treaty, the money was to be paid in 30,000 angels, or other English money in three instalments. The term 'English' here may refer to value, not specie.

² *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. iv, p. 532.

³ See Dr. Macdonald's "The Mint at Crosraguel Abbey," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, pp. 303-304.

⁴ Information supplied in 1915 by Dr. George Williamson, who heard from his Eminence Cardinal Gasquet the details of the distribution at Westminster Cathedral. There 13 choir boys, who represent the Apostles, sometimes receive small pieces of silver, sometimes books.

The custom of washing the feet of the guest was one of great antiquity and is often mentioned in the Old Testament.¹ In the East, where the barefooted traveller was always thus refreshed when welcomed on entering the house or even the tent of his host, either water was brought and the guest himself washed his feet, a custom still preserved by the Mussulman before entering a mosque, or the host's attendants performed the office. This symbolical cleansing was utilized by Our Lord to impress upon his disciples the desire to serve all and sundry, and is dwelt upon by St. John as taking place after supper.² This purification then completed the feast which had terminated with the breaking of bread and the passing round of the cup of fellowship, the theme of the other three Evangelists.³ A Syrian writer, Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, in his recently published book on the gospel narrative,⁴ explains the words used by Our Lord, "This do in Remembrance of Me," as the gracious formula in use in Syria, and says : " At our feasts we always drank the wine out of the same cup. . . . To us the one cup meant fellowship and fraternal communion." This symbolic "loving cup" used to mark the conclusion of the Maundy service, being called for by the King's Almoner when the feast was at an end, and thus, although this in time became a mere formal drinking of the royal health, it preserved the nature of a thanksgiving and much of the original prototype remained.⁵ To our forefathers the whole service represented a ministry to the pilgrim, to the traveller, and to the indigent, in the necessities of life ; and just as the participator in the feast in Biblical

¹ See Genesis xviii, 4 ; xix, 2 ; xxiv, 32 ; and lxiii, 24.

² Gospel of St. John xiii, 4-17.

³ Matthew xxvi, 26-29 ; Mark xiv, 22-26 ; and Luke xxii, 14-20.

⁴ *The Syrian Christ*, published 1919, pp. 44, 45.

⁵ *Old Palace of Whitehall*, by Canon Sheppard, p. 369 : " At the end of the order of service used in the year 1709, after the Blessing, the Lord Almoner calls for Wine and drinks to all ye poor the King's health and bids them be thankfull to God and pray for the King." The service thus quoted is p. 26 of a *Register of Chapels Royal*. See also *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 6305 : " A cup of claret to drink the King's health as far as it goes ; some people have drink in the vestry."

days would be readily accommodated with a robe or change of garments, so the clothes distributed gradually assumed an important part in the benefits bestowed. It is even possible that Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sign He gave to His disciples for the selection of the room wherein to keep the feast, had in His thoughts the preparation for the purification in the washing of feet, for He told them to follow "a man bearing a pitcher of water."¹

In the mind of the Early Church the prominent idea lay in the symbolism of cleansing from the pollutions of the world, combined with the natural hospitality of the East, as shown forth with humility by Our Lord in taking upon Himself the duties of service: "If I then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet; for I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you."² Mr. Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, in his *Syrian Christ* before quoted, lays special stress on the fact that "to the Orientals the feet were unclean in a ceremonial sense." "They are not," he tells us, "honourable members of the body; therefore to touch them in an act of devotion, marks the deepest depth of humility. . . . It was in this sense," says the writer, "that Jesus humbled Himself as an example to His disciples by washing their feet."³

Gradually in the Middle Ages more and more attention was directed towards the humility alone, and the service was performed as an act of self-abnegation and penance. The homilies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries especially remark on the condescension implied by the Master washing the feet of the servant, as applied to the potentates, nobles, and prelates of the day. Archbishop Cranmer, writing of the Maundy custom, says: "Our Lord did wash the feet of His disciples, teaching humbleness and very love and charity. . . . We, in like manner, should be ready at all times to do good unto our Christian brother, yea, even to wash their

¹ Mark xiv, 13; Luke xxii, 10.

² Gospel of St. John xiii, 14, 15.

³ *The Syrian Christ*, p. 162.

feet, which seemeth to be the most humble and lowly act we can do unto them.”¹ Little less insistent upon the point of humility is the writer of a discourse preached on Holy Thursday in the fifteenth century, which may be read in manuscript at the British Museum : “ And after soper mekely He washed His disciples fete to shewe example of mekenes.”² The “ mekenes ” of the sovereign, the great noble, the high ecclesiastic, the Pope himself, no less than the abbot of each monastery and his subordinate brethren, impressed the mind of the multitude. Until the secular occupation of Rome the full ceremonial was performed by the Pope, and it is carried out to the present day at Monte Cassino, about 39 miles from the Papal capital, by the Abbot in his pontificals, representing the Head of the Catholic Church.³ Pius IX used to perform the ceremony in the Sala over the portico of St. Peter’s at Rome, and the great nobility of the city at the Hospital of La Trinita dei Pellegrini.⁴

Dr. Fortescue points in his *Holy Week Book* to various different uses in foreign lands in the fourth, seventh and twelfth centuries, and writes that at the last-mentioned period “ the Pope washed the feet of 12 sub-deacons after Mass and of 13 poor men after dinner.”⁵ The Prior of Durham ministered, Mr. Feasey tells us, to 13 poor men, whilst the monks performed the same office for children ;⁶ and the Benedictines and Cistercians “ scrupulously washed the feet of their brethren, the Abbot him not being excused.” . . . “ The Clugniacs,” he writes, on the other hand, “ merely touched with wetted fingers the feet of three poor men.” Concerning the custom of choosing twelve or thirteen persons, or a greater number according to the

¹ Quoted in *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 112.

² *Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 2247*, f. 85.

³ Monte Cassino is the original foundation of St. Benedict circa A.D. 500. Benedict became a monk in 494. The poor persons, thirteen in number, whose feet are washed received the gift of a roll of bread and two lire each.

⁴ Dr. Williamson writes : “ The Holy Father gave to each of the thirteen men a bunch of herbs and flowers and a gold and a silver medal.”

⁵ *The Rites of Holy Week*, p. xxvj.

⁶ *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 109.

age of the donor of the feast, I purpose to write later ; but it is well to mention now that, whilst twelve represented the Apostles, the thirteenth was sometimes taken as symbolical of Our Lord Himself, or more often as an angel who joined the selected twelve when St. Gregory, according to tradition, was performing the office.¹ And, as Father Thurston tells, "so early as the year 694 the 17th Synod of Toledo commanded all bishops and priests in positions of superiority, on pain of excommunication, to wash the feet of those subject to them."²

In England subsequent to the dissolution of the monasteries, many charities in which ecclesiastics had taken the chief part scarcely survived outside the precincts of the Court, and possibly the condescension was considered the more impressive when centred solely in the king or queen.

It was, indeed, no longer a matter of removing the sand of the desert or the dust of the highway, as in the East, but a literal cleansing from dirt, which was unpleasant to the touch or other senses, and this demanded the "humility" of the great ecclesiastic or royal personage of the Middle Ages. But long before James II had ascended the throne—he being the last of our English kings who conformed in person to the ancient rite—the preliminary scrubbing was done by one of the clergy. In some instances it is even specified that "one of the menials of the Court" first washed the feet of the selected poor, then followed the Almoner and then the Grand Almoner, Mary I, for instance, being the fourth person to kneel, wash and kiss the right foot of those chosen for the purpose. It is noted that Mary "kissed the foot so fervently that it seemed as if she were embracing something very precious."³ But, in spite of all preliminary ablutions, the act was still regarded somewhat as a penance, and as such commended itself to James II but not to his successors

¹ *The Rites of Holy Week*, p. xxvj.

² *Lent and Holy Week*, p. 306.

³ Letter from Cardinal Pole's secretary, Marco Antonio Faitta, to Dr. Ippolito Chizzuola, *Venetian Calendar of State Papers*, vol. vi, Part I, p. 434, May 3, 1556.

of the House of Orange. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, published in 1731, speaks of the ministrations of James as the last king who personally performed this ceremony "formerly done by the kings themselves in imitation of Our Saviour's pattern of Humility."¹

My first plate shows that in 1773 by the time George III was on the throne even the distribution of clothing and money was performed by the sub-almoner, the king witnessing the presentation from the royal pew in the Chapel of Whitehall.

It is, however, evident that even prior to the Restoration the actual foot-washing was not invariably performed by "the kings themselves," for under Charles I, whose piety and devotion were undoubted, it occasionally devolved upon others. We have descriptions of the time when the king "kept his Maundy" in York in 1639, and was certainly present in the city, and apparently in the Minster, when the Bishops of Ely and Winchester presented the gifts to 39 men and washed their feet, and again, in 1642, the Bishop of Winchester is mentioned as the officiant.² It is perhaps on account of the occasional omission of the King's personal attendance that so much stress is laid on the observance of the entire rite by James II, and it was considered sufficiently important to be recorded in the *Chapels Royal Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages* now kept at Somerset House. Herein is the entry, quoted by Canon Sheppard: "On Maundy Thursday, April 16, 1685, our gracious King James ye 2nd wash'd wip'd and kiss'd the feet of 52 poor men with wonderfull humility, and all the service of the Church of England usuall on that occasion was perform'd, his Majesty being present all the time."³ But there can have been no serious lapse from the ancient custom, for Chamberlayne, in his *Angliæ Notitia*, throughout the reign of Charles II refers to the "eminent Pattern of Charity and humility" presented by the Court, to all that shall see the performance of that ancient custom by the King and Queen on the Thursday

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. i, p. 172.

² *Antiquities of York*, by Christopher Hildyard, p. 101 of the edition of 1719, and *Eboracum*, by Drake, p. 137.

³ Quoted by Canon Edgar Sheppard, K.C.V.O., *Old Palace of Whitehall*, p. 352.

before Easter called Maundy Thursday." Moreover, other accounts of the time of Charles I show that the king usually conformed to the practice of his forefathers.

It is interesting to learn that all was done that was possible to render the task as pleasant as might be, and that when in the days of the Tudors sweet herbs and wine were used by Mary¹ and Elizabeth² in washing the feet of their Maundy guests, they did but follow the example of the wife of Henry VII, whose Privy Purse accounts contain charges not only for "a cowle for Water xij^d" and "for iij new bolles xij^d," but also for "a basket iij^d" and the "flowres" it contained at the price of "iij^d" to sweeten the water. We learn that "heting the watier at the kechin" cost another shilling and must have necessitated a special amount of fuel, judging by this large sum of twelve pence, as compared with the total "for cariage of the same stuff from London to Richemount iij^d for the Quenes Maundy upon Shirthursday."³ This, however, did not include the transport at the cost of 10*d.* of "certain stuf," obviously the clothing for presents, and the Almoner's separate "botehire," which, with his "dyner," came to 2*s.* 8*d.*⁴

Whether the preliminary cleansing was performed for Elizabeth of York we know not, but at a much later date we find Margaret, Duchess of Parma, Vice Regent of the Netherlands and sister of Philip II of Spain, following with great austerity the precepts of Ignatius Loyola, who had been her confessor in early days. "The lessons of humility," writes Prescott, "which he inculcated were not lost on her, as may be inferred from the care she took to perform the ceremony, in Holy Week, of washing the dirty feet—she preferred them in this condition—of twelve poor maidens, outstepping in this particular the humility of the Pope himself."⁵

¹ *Venetian Calendar of State Papers*, vol. vi, Part I, p. 434.

² *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 32097, f. 70*B*.

³ *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, edited by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 1830, p. 4, March 24th, 1501-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵ Prescott's *History of Philip II*, vol. i, p. 302, ed. 1855.

Had it not been for the real piety and earnestness with which the pedilavium was usually undertaken in those days of simple faith, the physical fatigue of the ministrations would have tried the patience of both active and quiescent participators in the service. To the aged and infirm the strain of carrying out the office was great, especially as to the most saintly the performance involved traversing the hall kneeling. It is indeed told of St. Oswald, Archbishop of York, that "he passed to the Lord" in A.D. 992, "whilst according to the usual custom he was observing the usual Maundy before the feet of the poor."¹

The service following on the Mass was little less fatiguing to those who filled the passive parts, tempered perhaps although it was by pride in their selection. Think of the weariness of those whose feet were thus officially washed by three or four persons before the royal hands came into play, in an age when cleanliness was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Consequently the material benefit was a thing much to be desired, and it is possible that for this reason the money-gift and the distribution of clothing were added to the feast.

We have very complete lists of the garments and provisions dispensed by Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth. The dress given by James IV² of Scotland, the contemporary of Henry VII and VIII, is described in his accounts as "a luvuray" and as Monsieur Barbé remarks,³ "this, it was actually called," and "the recipients of the royal bounty formed a class, and the 'bedesman' of later days, though not yet mentioned under that name, really existed."⁴ The gifts bestowed by Margaret, the wife of James IV, are no less accurately described, and we have itemised lists also of the clothes presented by Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland,

¹ *Chronicle of Melrose*, Stephenson's version.

² *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. i, published 1877, and vol. ii in 1900, p. 229 of vol. i.

³ *Sidelights on the History of Scotland*, p. 267.

⁴ The livery gowns were changed from grey to blue at Easter, 1500-1. See *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. i, p. ccxlv, note 1.

whose accounts are dated 1512-25.¹ At earlier periods many a chance light is thrown on the slippers, cloth and linen given by Edward III,² or the gowns and hoods which formed the gifts of James III of Scotland in 1474,³ and the cloth and shoes presented by Elizabeth of York in 1502.⁴ But it is not easy to decide which of the nations was the pioneer in bestowing an entire outfit; it is, however, noted that the Spaniards, ever a devout nation, were at least not far behind the English in generosity. It is on record that Doña Louisa Borjia, wife of Don Martin, Count of Ribagorza and Duke of Villa Hermosa, who lived from 1513 until 1560, gave "a complete suit of clothes" to twelve poor persons, whose feet she had washed and kissed, "afterwards waiting on them at dinner."⁵

The Spanish tradition has always remained one of personal ministration, and it is told of the late Queen Isabella II, in the middle of the nineteenth century, that dropping by accident a bracelet from her wrist into the basin of water, she considered it to be thereby dedicated to charity and gave it the woman whose foot she was engaged in washing at the moment it fell.⁶

Friends of the present writer who witnessed the "Fusswaschung" in Vienna during the lifetime of the old Emperor, depict the ceremony as far less impressive than might have been expected, for although the aged monarch himself knelt a moment before each man and sprinkled his already washed right foot, the guests were not individually served by Franz Joseph according to the ancient custom. Food was indeed provided and some dishes were carried in by the Emperor, assisted by some of the Archdukes, but the recipients took them away without further ceremony.

Mrs. Henry Cust, in her *Gentlemen Errant*, describes the arrival of the Elector Palatine Frederick II at Bellpuig in 1533, in time

¹ *The Northumberland House Book*, edited by Bishop Percy in 1768 and published in 1827, pp. 354-6.

² Close Rolls, Anno 34, Edward III, March 20, 1359-60, Membrane 39.

³ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, vol. i, p. 71.

⁴ *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, pp. 74 and 85.

⁵ *A Playmate of Philip II*, by Lady Moreton, p. 130.

⁶ *Lent and Holy Week*, by Father Herbert Thurston, p. 307.

to see Charles V performing his Maundy Thursday ceremonies and washing the feet of the poor, but unfortunately no details of the proceedings survive for us to compare with our own day.¹

We must return to our own country, and I crave the pardon of my readers for so long detaining them from the numismatic side of the Maundy question. I plead in excuse my anxiety to make clear the origin and gradual alteration of the ordinance from the hospitality and self-abnegation of the past to the charity and kindly consideration of the present day.

The coin, at first in no way a specially minted coin, was supplementary to the feast—garments and extra provisions to carry away were added to the banquet—and then, again, these were commuted for a money payment, a certain portion of the dole being in small pieces, which eventually had to be coined for the purpose.



PENNY OF JOHN, *circa* 1210.

The first mention which I personally have seen in the royal accounts of a definite sum for the pedilavium distribution is in King John's "*Rotulus Misæ*" of 1213-14—namely, 13*d.* each to 13 poor men—but this is no proof that no earlier exists.² It reads thus:

¹ *Gentlemen Errant*, p. 364. Baron von Margutti, Aide-de-Camp to the late Emperor Francis Joseph, tells of the ceremony in his biography of his royal master. He says that the Emperor, in full-dress uniform of a field marshal, knelt before the feet of twelve old men and twelve old women, touching the right bare foot of each with a napkin dipped in a golden basin, whilst a priest read aloud from the New Testament. The Court then withdrew and the people were handsomely rewarded and driven back to the alms-houses in royal carriages. (See *The Emperor Francis Joseph and His Times*, by Lieut.-Gen. Baron von Margutti, p. 179.)

² *Rotulus Misæ Anni Regni Johannis Quarti Decimi*, published in *Documents Illustrative of History*, p. 258.

"D. Jovis in Cena Dni in elemos XIII paupum quoz quilz huit XIII^a apud Roffam XIII^j r^a." By the kindness of Mr. Lawrence I illustrate a London penny of this date as showing the type then in use. It is quite possible that pennies of Rochester might have been forthcoming, for the penny of 1205 struck at that mint is known. In the same way I individually have found no specific entry of garments bestowed at the "Cena Dni" earlier than the oft-quoted slippers and cloth of Edward III in the Close Rolls of 1360.¹

The date of the inauguration of the Holy-Thursday feast is still more difficult to suggest, in that we have become involved in questions of feeding the "Poor at the Gate" and giving large banquets to indigent persons as penance for sins, or in celebration of every Saint's day.

Dr. Thomas Dickson, quoting from Bishop Turgot's Life of Saint Margaret, wife of Malcolm III of Scotland, writes that for forty days before Christmas and during the entire season of Lent, she daily washed the feet of the poor and served them with provisions.² He adds that on certain occasions, suggesting that it was "perhaps Shire Thursday, the King and Queen were accustomed to entertain three hundred poor persons, waiting on them and serving them with their own hands." Besides these activities, she fed twenty-four persons daily, ministering to them herself, and wherever she went they accompanied her.³ Probably Margaret, the sister of Edgar Ætheling and near kinswoman of Edward the Confessor, had, on

¹ *Close Rolls, Anno 34 Edward III Membrane 39.*

² "Peracto autem matutinæ Laudis officio rediens in cameram sex pauperum pedes cum rege ipso lavare et aliquid quo paupertatem suam solarentur solebat erogare" Note I, p. cccii of Appendix IV to vol. i of *Accounts of the High Treasurer*. Turgot was consecrated Bishop of St. Andrew's on August 1st, 1109. See also *Life of St. Margaret of Scotland*, translated from Turgot by William Forbes-Leith, 2nd ed., 1886, p. 61: "When the Office of Matins and Lauds was finished, returning to her chamber, along with the King himself, she washed the feet of six poor persons and used to give them something wherewithal to relieve their poverty." She used also to bestow on beggars some of the gold coin the King had offered on Maundy Thursday and at High Mass.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

marrying Malcolm III in 1068, introduced these customs, but Malcolm Canmore himself had passed his youth at the English Court and had no doubt seen the pious practices of King Edward the Confessor. The benefactions of Margaret in Scotland, and John and Edward III in England, quoted above, with regard to the distribution of money and raiment, have been selected at random by me as affording evidence of royal accounts which I have had the opportunity of examining. Even more particularly in the time of Edward I, for feasts were almost incessant in all three reigns. Besides Saints days almost every Sunday presented the occasion for a banquet to the poor, and wherever the King went hundreds of persons received meals gratis at the royal expense.

The great difference between the Easter celebrations and those of other seasons lies less in the feasts than in the services, notably that performed on Holy Thursday.

The use of the older name, Scher-Thursday,¹ has been set aside in modern parlance, but it is well to bear it in mind, for we may look sometimes in vain for the word "Maundy" in the Tudor account books. Wynkyn de Worde's *Festial*, printed in 1493, whilst giving the same explanation for the term Sher as that quoted from the manuscript homilies, *Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 2247* states that it was so called "in Englysch tonge."² Nevertheless the writer of the manuscript homilies, of about the same date, gives the alternative name of Schir Thursday as being "ye day of Christes Maundy."

On the other hand, the origin of the present name, Maundy—or, as it was usually spelt in the sixteenth century, "Maundye," and

¹ For explanation of the name *Scher*, see Note 1, p. 199. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1779, vol. xlix, p. 349, suggests that it refers to the cleansing of the Apostles' feet, the word *chare* being interpreted pure. Others mention another explanation, *Skier*, signifying pain or affliction (see Feasey, p. 95). See also *Lent and Holy Week*, p. 88, where Father Thurston tells us that, according to John Belat, Shere Thursday was the occasion when "a priest should shave his crown, so that there be nothing between God and him, and men should make them clean within their souls and without."

² See *Barbé*, p. 265.

in the seventeenth and eighteenth, "Maunday"—is still much in debate, some writers affirming that it comes from Maund,¹ the basket in which the gifts were carried, and others more directly to the command of Our Lord,² at one time written "commaund," or from the Latin as *mandatum*. The above reference to "Christes Maundy" indicates that the writer in the fifteenth century accepted the derivation of Maundy from "mandatum" rather than "maund," and John Brand quotes More in his answer to Tyndal on "The Souper of Our Lord," as saying, "The Maundye of Christe with hys Apostles upon Shire Thursday." The gifts bestowed varied much under different monarchs, and with this point I purpose to deal later in discussing the coins required for the occasion.

It is, however, time to explain the nature of the various calls made upon the Privy Purse and their present development.

The Charities distributed by the Royal Almonry Office are now divided into the Maundy and Discretionary Bounty,³ the Minor

¹ A maund is a large basket or hamper capable of containing eight bales or two fats (see *Book of Rates*, f. 3). Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 124, inclined to this explanation, and quotes various writers, one of whom, in the eighteenth century, carried the origin back to the French for begging, *mandier*, or *maundiant*, a beggar. The *Book of Rates*, quoted above (see *The Charter of London*, published 1738, p. 159, giving the rates in the time of Charles I), in the "Balleage Duties Outward," sets forth: "For a great Maund or great Basket 8*d*. For a small Maund or Basket, poiza C weight or under 8*d*."

² "Mandatum novum do vobis."

³ The Discretionary Bounty is a gift of £3 to certain specially selected persons, now about 50 in number, at Easter, and is paid by cheque. The recipients are of the same class of persons as those on the Maundy list, to which they might if necessary be transferred. Queen Victoria, on her Accession at the age of 18, found many persons on the list of her uncle William IV, for whom her distribution, limited as it was by her age, had no room. She consequently ordered that they should be paid as before. They did, of course, not attend the Maundy Service, but received their money at the Almonry. See *The Times*, April 16th, 1838-9. I understood in 1920 from the late Mr. Norgate, then Secretary of the Almonry, that "there are now no superfluous members of the Maundy list from Queen Victoria's and Edward VII's reigns. They have either died or been absorbed into the present list of recipients."

Bounty,¹ the Common Bounty,² Gate Alms,³ and certain educationary and other donations,⁴ and of these only the Maundy distribution is personally attended by the Monarch, or members of the Royal family. The King, as we have said, is not an officiant in the service, but a spectator only.



VICTORIA HALF-GROAT AND PENNY, 1875.

A rapid and very clever sketch in water-colour, given to the late Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane in 1875 by an artist-friend, and signed W. J. Colville, shows the Maundy distribution as it was performed in the reign of Queen Victoria. Excepting in the portraiture of the officiant, then Dean Stanley, it might serve equally as a picture of the present day. Reproduced on our next page.

The nosegay carried by the royal almoner, representing as it does the "sweet herbs" of the olden times, no less than the brilliant uniform of the Beefeater holding the great dish containing the bags of money, takes us back to Tudor days. The same vicarious

¹ This and the other bounties are dispensed by the Secretary of the Royal Almonry, as he kindly informed me, in two half-yearly remittances about five days before Christmas and Easter Day respectively. According to *The Times* of April 2nd, 1920, the Minor Bounty, and others as above, were distributed to some 700 people.

² The Common Bounty was described by Mr. Bidwell in 1893 as consisting of donations of 10s. each to 1,300 persons.

³ "The annual sum of 26s. granted to 150 persons, and denominated Gate Alms, represents," wrote Mr. Bidwell, "the allowance of 6d. a week which in olden times was paid at the gate of the Palace of Whitehall."

⁴ See *The Guardian*, April 5th, 1893, where certain pensions were also noted as yearly paid to old servants and others, varying in amount from £1 to £16. Mr. Bidwell mentioned that the pensioners were, in 1723, as many as 150 in number; but the list was revised in 1811 and again in 1838, when it was reduced to 40 persons, 20 having £5 and 20 £10 per annum. There are besides grants for professorships and similar purposes.

presentation in the presence of George III and Queen Charlotte, a little more than a hundred years earlier than the above, was delineated by S. H. Grimm in 1773. A print after his drawing was engraved by James Basire and has been lent me for reproduction as my first plate by our member Mr. Richard Ponsonby-Fane, to whom also I owe the permission to illustrate the Victorian scene below.



THE MAUNDY IN 1875.

In Tudor and Stuart days that which corresponded more or less with the Discretionary Bounty was called the "King's Dole," distributed usually in person upon Good Friday, or very occasionally on Holy Thursday, after the Maundy, whilst the other benefactions were known as Gate Alms, Privy Alms and Daily Alms, and these latter were not connected with Easter.

The Good Friday dole was dispensed with some ceremony and followed certain services peculiar to that day—the creeping to the Cross, which is still practised in the Catholic Church, and the

blessing of cramp rings, now fallen into disuse. The King's offerings before the Altar on Good Friday had from early days been devoted to the manufacture of cramp rings, and from the accounts of Edward II,¹ Edward III,² and Edward IV,³ this is clear ; a special ritual in blessing them was followed, but from the vast number required from foreigners and others in the reign of Henry VIII, we are prepared to find, as indeed we do, many charges for extra production.⁴

In describing the service as performed by Mary I, Cardinal Pole's secretary, Faitta, explains that there were two basins of rings—the one containing those both of gold and silver provided by the Queen for distribution, whilst the other held those of private individuals labelled with their owners' names."⁵

The rites practised on Good Friday are all described at some length in a manuscript book of ceremonies of the early sixteenth century in the College of Arms, and from it we see that the distribution of the King's dole followed on these other services.

The presentation of the King's dole by Henry VIII in person, is fully described in this manuscript, *College of Arms. M. 7.*

The expression used in this document is that "the Master of the Juell House shal be there" [in the Chapel] "wth the Crampe rynges in a bason or basons of Silver." In the MS. list of Henry's jewels and plate in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, many basins are mentioned such as might have been used for this office,

¹ *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 32097*, f. 69b, in Norman French, for which see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, note 2 on p. 65. See also *The Blessing of Cramp Rings* by Raymond Crawford ; pp. 166–187 of *Studies in the History of Medicine*. Dr. Crawford suggests that Coronation offerings were devoted to the same purpose. See also Mons. Bloch's *Les Rois Thaumatourges* for *Les Anneaux Guérisseurs*.

² *The Blessing of Cramp Rings*, as above, p. 169. Eleemosyna Roll of Edward III, 9th, 10th and 11th years of Edward III.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 171. Eleemosyna Roll of 8 Edward IV, and Liber Niger Domus Regis Edward IV.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 21481*, f. 37b, and Trevelyan Papers, vol. i, p. 150, and p. 174, vol. 7, of the Camden Society's Publications.

⁵ *Venetian Calendar of State Papers*, vol. vi, p. 436.

or for the Maundy service, and we also notice, "Item Silver Crampe Ringes lxiiiij oz. wt. Item in Gold Crampe Ringes xxv oz. wt."¹ Certain basins provided for King John's Chapel at Lambeth in January, 1208, may have been for this purpose or for Maundy.²

Rarely, as I have said, was this dole given to the poor on the same day as the Maundy reception—the one in the morning the other in the afternoon—and as a rule the distribution was conducted on successive days. In no case must the two benefactions be confused, for not only did each have a separate ceremonial, but the expenses for the two appear distinctly in the Privy Purse accounts of the English monarchs.

Nevertheless, orders were sometimes given for special coinage, occasionally rendered necessary by the lack of small specie, and possibly the predilection of the royal donors in favour of handling clean bright money, and the generic term "Maundy" is sometimes used for the Easter dual distribution. Hence much confusion has arisen. Many people believe that all silver coins under the value of sixpence, with the exception of the threepenny piece, can be fairly called Maundy from the reign of Charles II onward, a further exception being made in favour of the "fourpenny bit" during a short period under William IV and Victoria. When, however, we now speak of "Maundy money" we mean a certain proportion of a specific gift bestowed by the reigning monarch on one particular day and at a particular service, upon a number of chosen recipients determined by the donor's age.

We should, however, not include coins required for currency under the title of Maundy. Moreover, many persons are not aware of the existence of that other ancient custom named the "King's Dole," or, as it is now called as we have just seen, "the Discretionary Bounty." Still less do we bear in mind that one of the royal charities consisted in a regular daily distribution of food and small

¹ Juelles, Plate, Stuff, &c., belonging to the late King Henry VIII, f. 169.

² Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, p. 398.

coins given at the gate of the palace, and that this food was in its turn commuted, in the reign of Charles II if not before, for a diurnal money payment, and called "Gate Alms." And yet, as I shall endeavour to explain, special coinage might be required for such purposes.

The food distribution, for which this dole was a substitute, was a survival of the feasts given by our early kings to which I have alluded. The accounts of Edward I, for instance, show that he fed at least six hundred and sixty-six or more poor persons



1280-2.

1302.

PENNIES OF EDWARD I, 1280 AND 1302.

every week, on special Sundays or Saint's days as many as a thousand or even seventeen hundred at one time. The expenses of feeding them are noted by Topham as being "1d quadran,"—namely $1\frac{1}{4}d$.—but they work out really at $1\frac{1}{2}d$. a head,¹ and in the twenty-eighth year of Edward's reign totalled £655 3s. $3\frac{1}{2}d$. in one year. The money thus spent reaching from £5 18s. 3d. to £26 15s. 9d. a week, cannot come under the head of Maundy unless by confusion arising from the fact that many writers, as we have said, derive the word from the Maund or basket in which the scraps from the royal, noble, or ecclesiastical tables were always collected and handed to the poor. If, on the other hand, we, as other writers affirm, connect the name of the Holy

¹ *Liber Quotidianus Contra Rotulartoris Garderobæ*, pp. 16—46. A facsimile illustration shows that the editor, Mr. Topham, misread the contraction for obolus as "quadran," and therefore erred in his computation of $1\frac{1}{4}d$. a head, but the weekly totals agree with the higher charge of $1\frac{1}{2}d$. as above.

Thursday distribution with the command of Our Lord at the *Cœna Domini*,¹ spelt by the people of the Middle Ages "commaund." "The Dayly Almes" in money or food remain quite distinct from the Easter charities.



GEORGE V PENNY, HALF-GROAT, GROAT AND THREEPENCE.

The special coinage, which is now struck year by year for Maundy Thursday, keeps alive the tradition that from the reign of Charles II onward a similar output on the part of the Mint was always distinct and necessary, but a study of the manuscripts and coins of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has led me to believe that this impression requires modification, as I shall endeavour to explain. Above all, let us bear in mind that in the reign of Charles II—nay, in the whole of the seventeenth century—neither groat nor threepence was needed for Easter distribution. So far as our present knowledge takes us, these larger denominations were not part of the Maundy dole until the reign of George II in 1731.² Silver pennies for Maundy and half-groats for Good Friday held the field, the latter being used at all seasons *on Progress for largesse*, and these were still current coin during Charles II's reign, as they had been in past generations from the time of Edward the Confessor and Edward III respectively.

These coins passed freely from hand to hand, unsupplemented by a sufficient copper coinage of halfpennies under royal authority, until the second decade after the Restoration was well advanced

¹ Gospel of St. John, chapter xiii, verses 14 and 15: "If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet: ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you."

² See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731, p. 172.

upon its way.¹ The farthing was the subject of constant controversy and legislation, and was proclaimed as lawful currency in the time of James I and Charles I, but the small and worthless coins did not meet with public approval, and the less the people liked the authorised supply of these tokens the greater the need for silver half-groats and silver pence, so that even the silver halfpenny continued to hold sway throughout the days of the Commonwealth.

If Charles II for some years, as we have strong reason to believe, issued silver halfpennies, they are indistinguishable from those of his father, but the dies for this coin appear in Simon's list of his works,² and it finds its place in the trial of the pyx taken on July 9, 1663.

Inconvenient as were such small pieces, there can be no doubt as to their use in general currency, and it was therefore possible to fall back upon the regular issue from the Mint, where the desired half-groats and pennies were constantly part of the yearly output, or if none were on hand, the dies used for currency could be requisitioned. It was, therefore, only occasionally that the monarch had not a supply of small silver coins at his command. It is undoubted that special orders for pence and even for half-groats were issued by most of our Sovereigns as Easter approached, and during the unrolling of my story, I hope to give my readers several instances of such sudden demands, some of which appear in the writings concerning the coinage of James I, published by Mr. Symonds in our ninth volume,³ and others in the *State Papers Domestic*. But it is worthy of attention that until the eighteenth century the coin used for charitable purposes was such as was current at the moment, and at periods when groats were not part of the ordinary output of the Royal Mint, we find no mention of their special coinage or employment for the Good Friday dole, much less for the Maundy distribution. Henry VII and VIII gave groats

¹ The proclamation making the new halfpenny and farthing legal tender was dated August 16th, 1672.

² Appendix of Vertue's *Medals, Coins, Great Seals, and other Works of Thomas Simon*, edition of 1780, p. 89.

³ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, p. 227.

as well as half-groats at the dole, but at that time the groat was easily obtainable, being in regular currency.

The officials, and still more the moneyers, of the Mint disliked the extra labour of making small coin, and constant legislation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was necessary to enforce an adequate production for the needs of the public, and consequently coins of the same type had to be commanded for charitable purposes. Moreover, for the general good of the people, special coinages of small pieces had to be ordered. An instance of this dilemma may be found in the days of William and Mary in 1692, when, owing to the high price of silver, the total output was so small that the legal proportion to which the moneyers had assented, of four pounds weight of small pieces to the hundredweight of silver, did not cover the demands of the community.¹ Some of the special orders issued by James I in 1619 and 1620 may, as Mr. Symonds remarks, have been due to a similar scarcity of silver, for the indenture of 1604 had provided that "in every 100 lbs. of coined silver there should be



WILLIAM AND MARY HALF-GROAT, 1689.

2 lbs. in half-groats, 1½ lbs. in pence and ½ lb. in halfpence," and this proportion, if observed in a year of large coinage, covered probably the general requirements. But to return to William and Mary. Orders had been issued in 1689 that "for the good of our People . . . some Quantity of small monies be coyned," and the discussion with regard to sizing the little pieces led to the suggestion, which was, however, rejected, that half-groats and pennies should be made of "coarse silver, whereby their bulk will be enlarged to such size as will be fitt for common use."²

Inconvenience was felt from the probability that so small a

¹ *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, f. 104.

² *Ibid.*, 18759, f. 100.

coin as the penny would be lost, and the first indenture of Charles II, dated 1660,¹ which agreed with that of James I, already noted, had been subject to alteration, the silver halfpenny being, as we have seen, later eliminated.

In the first eighteen months after the Restoration, Charles II followed the rule of his immediate predecessors who made no coin for currency between the sixpence and the half-groat at the Tower Mint. But possibly the addition of groats and quarter-shillings by Charles I in his Civil-War mints eventually commended itself to his son as a useful revival of Elizabeth's measures.²

The rate of pay enjoyed by the foot soldiers in Ireland of sixpence a day is contrasted by Thomas, Lord Wentworth, in a letter to Charles I under date 1638, with the eightpence usual in England, and he suggested that if sent to this country they should have the additional *2d.*³ Their provisions had cost hitherto *8d.* daily, but in an earlier estimate sent, Wentworth only requested *6d.* for "the diet of mariners or marines on shipboard."⁴ Mary I had raised the English pay from *6d.* to *8d.*, thereby granting the increase for which the foot soldier had mutinied in the time of her father.⁵ There seems reason to believe that during the Civil War the foot soldier continued to receive *8d.*, although in certain cases *10d.* was allotted to these men and two shillings and sixpence was given to each horseman. These latter scales of pay are specified by Chamberlayne in 1672,⁶ and

¹ *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, f. 7.

² We must, moreover, bear in mind that Elizabeth's coins remained in circulation until withdrawn by the "Great Recoinage" under William III. The calling in of silver at the Restoration referred only to the Harp and Cross of the Commonwealth, naturally distasteful to Charles II.

³ *Life of Thomas Wentworth*, by Elizabeth Cooper, vol. ii, p. 153.

⁴ *Wentworth*, vol. ii, p. 26.

⁵ *History of Mary I*, by Jean Mary Stone, p. 490.

⁶ *Angliæ Notitia*, 1672, 6th edition, Part II, pp. 156 and 159. Chamberlayne says that in garrison towns the soldier had *8d.* a day, and in London *10d.* The men of the Life Guard, being formally established by Charles II in January, 1660-61, on the disbanding of the Regular Army, had 4s. a day, and the Militia, during their annual or bi-annual muster, *12d.* per diem to each foot soldier and 2s. for horsemen.

we see in the daily 8*d.* and 10*d.* or weekly 4*s.* 8*d.* or 5*s.* 10*d.* a definite reason for the revival of the groat in the reign of Charles II, no less than for the appearance of these coins and the plethora of half-crowns in the war issues of Charles I. Be this as it may, clearly Charles II saw a use for the groat, and in the beginning of the year 1662 this coin, with its mate the quarter-shilling, was again established as general currency.¹ These coins, ordered on January 19th, 1661-2, appeared in the pyx trial of July 9th, 1663,² and were of the hammered type, as is proved by the fact that these denominations were not in the first assay of pieces struck by the mill and tried on July 4th, 1664.³

Mr. Edward Hawkins, struck by the special manufacture of a certain output of the four small denominations which, in the light of the above-mentioned pyx lists, we should now regard merely as milled coins, placed them in a class by themselves, with the suggestion that they were intended for Maundy money.⁴ Custom has so far accepted his views as to include under this head, even the output of groat to penny produced by the Roettiers, in succession to Simon's beautiful little coins, which were, according to his own account, prepared for the mill in April, 1665.⁵ Evidence does not lack that these pieces, like the hammered issue which preceded them, were all intended for general currency, although exceptional coins of great rarity amongst the half-groats and pennies exist, with which

¹ Warrant dated January 19th, 1662, for the striking of groats and threepences which were not ordered by the indenture of July 20th, 1660.

² "The Pyx Trials of the Commonwealth, Charles II and James II," by Henry Symonds, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. xv, p. 346.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

⁴ *Silver Coins of England*, edition of 1841, p. 212; edition of 1876, p. 374; edition of 1888, p. 378.

⁵ Appendix V of Gough's edition, 1780, of Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc.*, of Thomas Simon, p. 89. I have been privileged to see the original manuscript of Simon's bill in the collection of Mr. F. W. Cock. The margin at the last date-entry—that immediately preceding the charge for the dies of these coins—is slightly torn, but sufficient remains to make it clear that the transcript from it for publication was correct.

I hope to deal later, deeming that in them we may perhaps find coins made for royal gifts.

A proclamation under date August 16th, 1672, ordering the "making Current His Majesties Farthings and Halfpence in Copper," contains the statement that Charles had caused "many thousands of pounds of good sterling Silver to be Coyned into Single pence and Twopences, that so there might be good money current amongst the poorest of our Subjects and fitted for their smaller Traffic and Commerce."¹ Neither does this assertion that the small coins were



CHARLES II PENNIES—HAWKINS, *Type IV*, and MILLED TYPE WHICH FOLLOWED.

made for the use of the public stand alone. In the year 1674-5 some discussion had arisen concerning the payment of an extra penny on every pound weight of coin, and before this demand was finally granted it was insisted that a minimum of 18 ozs. of small silver should be produced in every 100-lb. weight—a much smaller quantity, be it noted, than the indenture of 1660 had specified. We must bear in mind that the copper halfpence and farthings had largely relieved the requirements of the currency, and the amounts now considered necessary were: "in pence $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce, in 2 pences 3 ounces, in 3 pences 6 ounces, in groats 8 ounces and a half."² Concerning the output since the introduction of the mill and screw, which should entitle the moneyers to an extra penny on their pay, Danby, Lord Treasurer to Charles II, writing in the January of

¹ *Royal Proclamations*, Charles II, vol. ii, No. 187, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, "16th August, in the 24 year of Our Reign, 1672."

² *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 18759, f. 76. An alternative was suggested of nine ounces instead of eight and a-half in groats, if pence were not required, but reference to this order in the reign of William and Mary shows that the pennies carried the day—see *Ibid.*, f. 104—where the decision of Charles II in 1675 is set out, when the matter of small moneys was again in question in 1692.

1674-5, states that between December the 20th, 1666, and the 21st of the same month in 1673, "Lwt 242,978 and 4 penny weight of silver" had been coined by this process, and "the moyoners had by the new way of ye mill and press" made "two thousand, two hundred and eighty four pound weight in small mony w^out any other allowances than for the great monies."¹ We must realize that a penny weighed but 7 grains $\frac{3}{4}$, and a groat 1 dwt. 6 grains $\frac{3}{4}$, and although an extra remedy was allowed on making such small coins, even 100 lbs. weight of silver would, at a very rough computation, produce about £310,² and that each £1 sterling would contain 240 pennies, or 120 half-groats, or 80 quarter-shillings, or 60 groats, as the case might be.

If 100 lbs. weight, therefore, represented some 70,044 pennies, as the indenture of 1660 tells us, 2,284 lbs. weight, even although spread over some seven years, would not be required for anything but currency. The usual grant for the total expenses of the Maundy, as the Treasury papers prove, at this period was of £200, and but a very small portion of this was distributed in the form of small coin. Moreover, as I have said, so far as our present research carries us, only pennies were used for the Holy Thursday distribution by Charles II and his immediate successors. Although other charities demanded a modified expenditure of groats and quarter-shillings, and still more of half-groats for "largesse," we are aware of no order for a private coinage of the two larger pieces in Stuart times, nor, indeed, even of half-groats and pennies—in the days of Charles II, in particular. I am not arguing that small coins were not useful to the king in all royal charities, and we shall see that in the Tudor

¹ *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 18759, f. 5 bis.

² The price of silver varied considerably, but by the Act of Parliament for encouraging coinage in 1665 it was arranged that every merchant should receive 62 shillings for every pound Troy of bullion. Chamberlayne, writing in 1672, states that "12 Ounces of pure Silver without any allay" was at that time worth £3 4s., and "with allay but 3 li." A table published for the convenience of traders weighing money, in 1696, gives the product of 32 lb. 3 oz. 1 dwt. 22 grains $\frac{3}{4}$ as £100 in sterling silver, this metal being at the time 5s. 2d. an ounce.

reigns, whilst the groat and half-groat were required for the Good Friday dole, the latter coin was also in great request for largess.



HENRY VIII GROAT, MINT-MARK ROSE.

The entries in the accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII of definite sums in groats and half-groats for distribution on Good Friday, after the consecration of cramp-rings, will occupy our attention in a later section of our series. But we also find mention of groats for gaming purposes, and Anne Boleyn, in 1630, received as much as £5 "in grotes for playing money" on one occasion, namely, on the day before Christmas Eve¹—a favourite day for cards, as is evident from all private accounts of the time. We must therefore not run away with the idea that all orders concerning small coin for the King's use must necessarily be for almsgiving, and we know Henry VIII received angels or crowns with which to cover his playing losses and bets when shooting at a mark.² The new groats might serve as gifts, counters or curiosities, and it is clear that this was sometimes the case. We even find Henry causing the master of his jewel house, Robert Amadas, to deliver money to one "Rasmus for to guylde,"³ and in the list of contents of this jewel-house we find not only "counters of Latten" in silver-gilt boxes, but also silver

¹ *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 20030*, f. 51b. See also *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII*, p. 98. Nicolas in the same volume, in his Notes on Cards on p. 306, says that in 1461 Edward IV enacted that cards should not be played in private houses "oute of xij dayes of Christmasse."

² *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII*, pp. 37, 226 and 227, etc.

³ *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 20030*, f. 51. Nicholas, in the *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 97, reads Rasmus as Rasin, by mistake.

and even gold counters,¹ and it seems not improbable that Henry used gilt groats for counters. Sixpences were used as playing or reckoning counters in the days of Elizabeth—the milled sixpence attracting attention by its beauty—so why not groats in the time of her father and grandfather, when the new portraits probably took the fancy of the owner of a reckoning-board? In Henry VII's reign the word "newe" is applied to 65s. 8*d.* in "grottes delivered to the Kinges grace on the 29th August 1505,"² but no indication is given with regard to mint-mark or type, which might show us whether any alteration of pattern was put forward, or whether these were merely pieces consonant with the great re-coinage ordered in the preceding year, the King desiring clean coins for a Progress or what not.

In accounts of Henry VIII's first year, in December, 1509, we again find the "new grottis" at a time of year when the Easter dole would not be in question.³ These coins were, we have no doubt, part of the issue ordered under the indenture of the preceding August 6th, which followed the type of the late King's reign, but with the numeral VIII substituted for VII.⁴ The amount handed to Henry by William Compton, £33 6s. 8*d.*, suggests coin for presents, not patterns submitted for inspection.

In spite of the fact that Elizabeth ordered no half-groats, she certainly used them for "largesse," for we have the description preserved by Nichols of Elizabeth going into St. James's Park in April, 1560, after the Maundy service, and presenting twopenny pieces to young and old to the number of two thousand.⁵ Of Mary I, the before-quoted Faitta mentions that this was also the day chosen;

¹ Manuscript list of jewels in the jewel-house, etc., at the time of Henry VIII's death, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

² *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 21480, f. 25.

³ *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 21481. Dec. 9. Dec. XI. Anno Primo Accounts of Henry VIII.

⁴ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, pp. 134-135. "First Coinage of Henry VII," by Henry Symonds.

⁵ *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. of 1789, p. 53, or ed. 1823, p. 85.

but does not say whether the Queen herself gave the dole. When the fatiguing nature of her Good Friday service in 1556 is considered,



ELIZABETH HALF-GROAT, MINT-MARK MARTLET.

it seems not unnatural, that if she in person threw alms to "upwards of 3,000 persons," she preferred Holy Thursday afternoon for this distribution in the open-air.¹

But some of the entries concerning special coinages are definite. We have seen that James IV of Scotland caused groats to be made on purpose for distribution, and Mr. Symonds has published Mary I's similar action in melting her jewels to produce Maundy pence. We know, moreover, that Elizabeth required £13 in "new pence for Maundy" from the Master of the Mint on March 18th, 1577-8, but no mention is then made of any order for half-groats. On the other hand, we definitely can state that James I, in the last year of his life, caused half-groats as well as pence to be struck against Easter, probably for the Maundy distribution and the Good Friday dole, and perhaps, had not death prevented him, he would have personally given them to the poor according to the good old Tudor custom.²

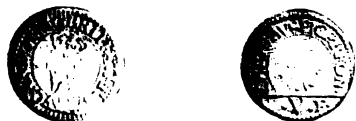
But there appears no reason to associate the name of Charles II with a distribution of coins of the value of three and four pence respectively at the Maundy service, and it is safer to admit that Charles I's Civil-War coins and Elizabeth's groats were reduced to a small residue after many years of wear, and did not suffice for general currency, so that Charles II thought their renewal expedient. The need for this revival had indeed been strongly impressed upon the elder Charles by Briot long before the Civil War, as the numerous patterns testify. The French engraver had been the advocate of as many as,

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi, p. 437.

² *MS. State Papers, Domestic*, vol. clxxxv, No. 63.

or of more denominations than were in use under Elizabeth, whose nineteen different coins included a silver-piece of three-farthings in value.

Briot went further and presented designs for five farthings in silver, and was in favour of "brass or copper coins in pieces of 2, 1



CHARLES I PATTERN FOR FIVE FARTHING.

and a halfe farthing which he said might be made "six times more heavie and strong than the farding w^{ch} now are currant."¹

But these matters must await a more detailed description in another volume, for in this introduction I have only aimed at showing that our Tudor and Stuart monarchs required, apart from the general demands of the currency, a considerable amount of small money for gifts at all seasons of the year, and it was possibly partly for this reason that the rule concerning a proportion of little pieces in each hundredweight of silver was strongly enforced.

This question of the small currency will absorb our attention later, and I have too long trespassed upon the hospitality of our *Journal* to follow at present the intricacies of the winding and narrow path between the necessities of the general community, and the requirements of the King's poorer subjects. I hope, therefore, to resume the discussion of the Royal Charities in our next volume.

¹ MS. *State Papers, Domestic*, Carl. I, vol. cxxiv, No. 68.





THIN SILVER MEDALLION OF CHARLES II, IN MR. BURNETT'S COLLECTION.

A SERIES OF PORTRAIT PLAQUES IN THIN SILVER,
STRUCK IN STUART TIMES, TECHNICALLY CALLED
SHELLS OR CLICHÉS.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

THE French have a proverb to the effect that "Everything comes to him who waits," and the discovery amongst the treasures of an old Hampshire country house of a thin silver portrait of Charles II only now answers a question raised by me many years ago in our sixth volume, when I referred to the probable existence of such a "shell" or "cliché."¹

"It is a pity," I wrote, for to save reference I will quote from the past pages of the *British Numismatic Journal*, "that the chain of royal clichés is broken by the absence of any large specimen known to us representing Charles II. But," I continued, "in order to bring before you the excellence of John Roettiers's works on this scale, I am permitted to reproduce a fine silver plaque of a more solid character in the Franks collection."² It exists also cast in bronze in the Hunter cabinet, and in lead in the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, but the silver medallion is the more delicately chased."

¹ This word cliché, technically used to signify a trial-piece or sketch, will for convenience be used by me in the sense in which it has been modernly adopted in England, as signifying a thin shell of silver—a uniface plate, usually in high relief, and incuse on the reverse. The original meaning in France, of a cast taken for printing purposes from a set of type, need not here affect us, for in England the word does not necessarily imply that the piece in relief is cast and not struck.

² Charles II silver plaque from *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, p. 281. See also *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, vol. i, p. 600, No. 287, and Plate LXII, 10.

A similar example of the same design and quality in the precious metal had been illustrated in the second volume of this *Journal*, on p. 489, from the cabinet of Mr. T. W. Barron, but as it was not reproduced quite full size I thought I was justified in re-calling



SOLID SILVER MEDALLION OF CHARLES II, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

attention to the specimens in the National Collection, and with, I hope, the approval of my readers, I am re-using these blocks to facilitate comparisons. In one of my former articles—that in our vol. v, p. 255—I again referred to this portrait as reminding us in general, although not precisely in detail, of some glass window

panes¹ bearing a similar bust of the King on a somewhat larger scale, in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Ceramic Department of the British Museum respectively, remarking that "the leaden plaque, corresponding as it does in size and execution with the thin silver plates representing Charles I and James II, would have made a satisfactory memorial of Charles II."

This vacuum appeared to have been partly filled by the fine heads of Charles II produced in the same manner which I had the privilege of illustrating in our seventh volume, facing p. 258, from the collections of the late Duke of Atholl and of Mr. Berney Ficklin, the latter now in my cabinet.² A second example is at Kinnordy, the residence of Lord Lyell. But these fine clichés, although clearly the work of John Roettiers, are on a larger and more sculpturesque style than the series we are now discussing.

The shell now shown as our first plate by the courtesy of Mr. Edgar M. Burnett, who recently acquired it from an old Hampshire family, is a perfect medallion struck upon a thin sheet of silver, and takes up the intermediate position between the medallion of Charles I and the two examples of James II, which vary slightly in their inscriptions. I lay stress on the word struck as applied to these thin silver shells because, with the exception of a leaden plaque, a soft metal be it said, of James II, such solid examples as have come within my notice have all been cast, whereas the sharpness of the thin silver portrait shows contact with a die.

The sequence of these medallic pictures is carried forward by William III³ in three varying designs, one of which is in low relief ;

¹ These window panes measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$. They were taken from an old building called Whitbread's House in Purfleet. The bust, surrounded by a wreath, is less ornate than the plaque, and probably owes its origin to the Felicitas-Britannia medal, and the portrait, with roughly indicated lion's head and ermine, is further decorated at the corners with emblems of the rose and thistle and with a cupid on each side of a crown holding a trumpet and wreath respectively.

² *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, Appendix, Plate CLXXXIII, Nos. 1 and 2.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 219, No. 544, Appendix, Plate CLXXXIII, Nos. 4 and 6, and see also *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, facing p. 256, and vol. ix, p. 271.

by Mary II,¹ from the hands of two differing artists ; and by Anne.² One of those of William,³ however, and its companion of Mary⁴ are not worthy to be included in the series, being of inferior workmanship.⁵

There are others, although but few examples of private persons, such as the Duke of Marlborough, by a very poor artist, but these



SILVER SHELL OF ANNE.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 231, p. 236, No. 11.)

need not detain us here. We must confine ourselves to the royal series, all of which were, when *Medallic Illustrations* was published,

¹ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 106, No. 333, and Plate CLXXXIII, No. 5.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 231, No. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 219, No. 544.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 106, No. 333.

⁵ A pair of these were sold at Messrs. Glendining's Sale Rooms on December 15th, 1921, Lot 91. The examples in the British Museum are figured in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, pp. 256 and 259.

thought to be the work of Norbert Roettiers alone ; but, with the subsequent agreement of Mr. Grueber, editor of the above invaluable book, I stated my reasons in our seventh,¹ ninth,² and tenth³ volumes for attributing these thin silver portraits in some instances to John Roettiers, Norbert's father, namely, those of Charles I, James II, and, possibly, when the artist's hand and eyesight were failing in his old age, that of Anne.

James Roettiers also perhaps shared in his brother's work, and to him one of the clichés of William—struck on the Peace of Ryswick and dated 1697⁴—seems due. But I think we may suggest without hesitation that the fine portrait of Charles II is either by Joseph or more likely by John Roettiers, the brilliant artists whose Felicitas-Britanniæ medals⁵ it almost exactly reproduces ; just as that of James II recalls, although less vividly, the long-haired Lowestoft medal.⁶ It is curious how very much alike the royal brothers appear in these particular medals, and the likeness is so marked in the clichés that some eighteenth-century possessor of Mr. Burnett's example wrote on the back, " James II of England," the name by which the exile was known abroad, a palpable mistake in identity, as all may see who are acquainted with the lines of the Stuart faces, but easily made by one who knew James only. An ancestor of the family from which Mr. Burnett acquired his medallion made a fortune in Dantzic, whence he returned in 1690. If he brought it home as the gift of James, it was probably soon after the recipient's death regarded as a portrait of the donor, so that James and not Charles was written

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, p. 257.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 272.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. x, p. 218.

⁴ *Medallic Illustrations*, Appendix, Plate CLXXXIII, No. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 460, No. 53. Nagler attributed this medal to Philip, and J. H. Burn to Joseph Roettiers. There is, however, especially in the point of workmanship, far better evidence for John, to whom it is usually adjudged. In point of time, it is, however, possible that Joseph executed the puncheon for the obverse of the Felicitas-Britanniæ medal and John the version now before us.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 504, No. 142.

on the back some half-century later, when the shell was framed in an oval of wood somewhat too small for it.¹

Two questions present themselves for discussion. Firstly, are these mere trial-pieces, technically called clichés, taken to prove a die, the die being made on purpose to produce them, and the heavier plaques in lead being a by-product? Or were they cast in bronze or silver in moulds made from an example prepared with this object?



THE FELICITAS-BRITANNIÆ MEDAL.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 460, No. 53.)

Secondly, how do we account for the differences, small although they be, in the few examples known to us, seeing that it would be scarcely worth while to make several dies for so small an output if we are to judge it by the pieces still in evidence.

¹ Seeing that the worm-eaten wooden frame was too small and not strictly contemporary, the medallion had been reframed by Mr. Burnett.

To the first question I reply, that only few solid plaques exist, and so far as our present knowledge takes us these are all cast, with the exception of the lead James II—a soft metal entailing no strain on a large die. It would at that time have been very difficult to strike solid silver medals from so large a die without great risk of



THIN SILVER PORTRAIT OF JAMES II.
(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 216, No. 539.)

fracture when fully hardened, although the Felicitas-Britanniæ Medal proves that it could be done. If therefore we are right in believing that the shells were struck, they are no mere trial-pieces, for it must have been for this purpose that the dies were engraved, inasmuch as a mould to cast the plaques could as well have been made from a wax model.

We must, then, assume that the object in view was to make beautiful pieces of sharp outline, to be given framed or unframed as

the case might be, as memorials or presents to loyal adherents. For this purpose a thin silver impression, afterwards filled out with wax or shellac, was far more economical than a costly silver plaque.

The least rare of these shells is beyond question that of James II, a king to whom the expense was vitally important. A characteristic instance of such inexpensive presentations lies in the iron tankard,¹ traditionally said to have been a present from James to the owner of Gwydyr Castle, Sir Richard Wynne, or to his daughter and heiress, Mary, Lady Willoughby de Eresby.

This tankard, with its silver rim bearing the words "Fear God and honour ye King—I.R." and a crown, has one of the thin silver portraits of James II let into the front.²

The second question, that of the differences appearing in the detail, can only be answered by trying to solve the problem of the mode of production. We must take into consideration that the majority of these discrepancies are either in memorial inscriptions, subsequently added to the original lettering, and probably not to the die itself, or are of so trivial a nature that they may be due to the final chasing. It is, however, clear that in the case of James II more than one die was used.

How, then, were the portraits made? Probably a thin sheet of silver was pressed into a die in the screw or press by means of a backing of lead. I mean a fairly thin sheet of lead was covered with a thinner sheet of silver and then stamped or screwed down into the die. The lead in its turn must then have been backed by a roughly finished punch to "force" the metal up in high relief, for the back of solid plaques are themselves somewhat incuse and rather rough, be they cast or struck. Or, again, the soft metal—tin, copper or preferably lead impressions—may have first been gently struck from the die and fastened to the upper side of the screw before the silver

¹ This tankard was Lot 105 in the sale at Gwydyr on May 19, 1920, and I am not aware into whose hands it has now passed.

² The fact that one of the thin silver pieces was used is apparent from a slight fracture in the edge.

was placed between positive and negative. The silver separated from the lead might be retouched from the front, or repoussé from the back, resting on a bed of pitch or sand, and if any improvements were desirable in the die these could be made, seeing that the die was probably not completely hardened. The lead impression would remain, but it would be smaller by just so much space as was occupied by the silver cliché.



JAMES II. LEAD MEDALLION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The leaden example of James II in the British Museum which, as I have said, appears to be struck, exactly fits within the silver cliché bearing the memorial inscription,¹ suggesting that it was made in this manner, but one expert opinion kindly given to me is to the effect that the easier method would be that of making an impression

¹ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 215, No. 538.

of soft metal for the "force" before placing the silver plate on the die rather than striking both together. But this would result in the "force" allowing no extra room for the silver sheet, and there would be less risk of cutting the thin foil if the "force" were slightly smaller, as I find the lead specimen to be. The British Museum does not contain any other solid example of James II's portrait than the lead specimen above mentioned, but there are in the Hunter Collection two cast plaques in hard metal, one of which is untrimmed as it came from the mould.

All the clichés which I have examined are more forcible and sharper in front than behind, so I think we may dismiss the idea that the silver is repoussé by means of a cast medal pressed into the thin sheet of silver without the necessity for a die. The shell would not take so sharp an impress from the back, but it would hardly be possible to press the silver foil into a mould instead of a die. Giving my inexpert opinion, however, for what it is worth, the clichés and the lead medallion of James appear to me to bear the sharper impress of the die.

The differences to which I have referred, lie in small matters, the number of scales in the King's armour, the fluting or non-fluting of a riband, the stippling or level treatment of the background—all easily altered in the chasing; or we may even admit possibly due to the alteration of the die. In the case of James II, although but one puncheon appears to have been used—a puncheon made by John Roettiers and dated 88 on the truncation of the shoulder—a fresh die with slight alterations to the features seems to have been made when the King died and a mortuary inscription substituted for the original legend.¹ It would have been possible to add the words NAT: OCT: 17. 33. OB. SEP: 4. 1701. ÆTAT 67, if the die had been

¹ John Roettiers, who had remained in England, and to whom his medal dies, confiscated in 1697, had been returned, was lamed in the hands, but not in such manner as to render him helpless, and he worked in his private house down to the time of his death in 1703. If made abroad by Norbert Roettiers, it is likely that the dates would have been given according to New Style.

available in the space simply filled by rosettes and stops in the old die, but probably this die had been lost or mislaid and the fresh legend, beginning at the top instead of at the left-hand lower edge as in the original die, was substituted. Comparison between the few duplicates or triplicates reveals that the lettering was in most cases



PLAQUE OF CHARLES II IN LEAD.
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

on the die, and this is corroborated by the fact that the two specimens of the Anne medallion known to me, show the same double striking both in portrait and lettering. But if a letter failed, correction in so thin a metal was easy either from the front or from the back, as, for instance, in one of the examples of James II.

In this the die failed to mark the figure 4 in the date of the King's death, September 4th, when careless selection of a retrograde

punch applied from the back resulted in a retrograde letter. This example was struck on a square flan, and considerable ornamentation was added at the corners ; but the line of the oval die is clearly visible. Nevertheless, as all the decoration has the appearance of being struck, we may have here a new die, and the slightly altered features of the King are in favour of this assumption, inasmuch as it presents a considerable number of small discrepancies from the cast and chased solid medallion. The lead plaque representing Charles II in the British Museum—*see* p. 239—differs in several minor details from the silver medallion there, and this again from that in Mr. Barron's collection, as he has been kind enough to point out after personal comparison of the three. We must, moreover, remember that cast pieces differ in size from the shrinkage of the metal. Alterations are, however, easy in chasing, such as that in my William III cliché pictured in the Appendix of *Medallic Illustrations*, Plate CLXXXIII, No. 4, where three rosettes and four stops were stamped from the back to fill a space left vacant in a duplicate which I was fortunate in being able lately to present to the Department of Coins and Medals. On the other hand, the British Museum's Mary II and mine—Plate CLXXXIII, No. 5—do not differ, and the same may be noticed respecting duplicates of Charles I and Anne. It remains to be said that the lettering is such as we expect from the family of Roettiers, and does not agree with that of Obrisset, who began to work shortly after John Roettiers died.

Little is known of John Obrisset, and the greater part of his output consisted usually of tortoiseshell or horn plaques for snuff-boxes. The details of his method may be found described in *Some Minor Arts* in an article on "Impressed Horn," by Sir Hercules Read. Obrisset, or O'Brisset, signed his work O B. or .I. O B. and did not limit himself to the media mentioned above, but appeared sometimes to have used silver to make raised portraits on his boxes. His Charles I is modelled on the plaque by Roettiers, from which he may have taken a cast and effected some slight alterations ; but his James II is based upon the short-haired Lowestoft medal¹

¹ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 505, No. 143.



THIN SILVER PORTRAIT MEDALLION OF JAMES II.
 A VARIETY OF *MEDALLIC ILLUSTRATIONS*, VOL. II, p. 215, NO. 538.
 (IN HELEN FARQUHAR'S COLLECTION.)

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and not on the long-haired example,¹ with which our plaques and clichés correspond. His conjugate portraits of William and Mary are modelled upon Bower's medal² and his varying presentments of Anne are based upon more than one of Croker's medals of the Queen.

Although his tortoiseshell plaques are worthy of all praise, his silver heads should not as a rule be confused with our clichés, being of stouter substance, usually cast, and less delicate in finish. I, however, confess that I hesitate to which artist to attribute the tobacco box, which I here illustrate.



TOBACCO BOX WITH PORTRAIT OF CHARLES I.

Personally I am inclined to believe this head to be the work of Roettiers, and the die is not the same as that used by Obrisset for

¹ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 505, No. 142;

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 668, No. 38.

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his signed boxes in tortoiseshell, and closely resembles the memorial of Charles I of 1649 illustrated below.

Since reading the above at the Anniversary Meeting of this Society in 1921, I have been frequently asked two questions with regard to the practice of striking these thin silver shells, whether for distribution as portraits or as trial-pieces, technically called clichés :—



MEMORIAL OF CHARLES I, BY JOHN ROETTIERS.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 347, No. 202.)

Firstly : Were they peculiar to the time of Charles II and his immediate successors ? Secondly : Were coin and medal dies thus tested at this period by other artists than the family of Roettiers ?

To the first question I reply that I know of no similar series of

clichés struck in England on so large a scale, but even in my own limited collection I have smaller medalllic shells struck in the time of James I,¹ and not a few produced during the reign of Charles I. I have even seen in the British Museum some thin shells of the Elizabethan period, but all these are of small dimension, and one at least is described by Dr. Hill as repoussé rather than struck.²

As regards trial pieces for coins, we must bear in mind that



CLICHÉ OF CHARLES I.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 244, No. 194.)

the currency was not, as a rule, made by the mill and press in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but dies for the hammered issues might be, and certainly were sometimes, tested in this manner by Thomas Simon.

In answer to the second question, that regarding the work of other artists of the same period, I must draw attention to certain portrait jettons or counters bearing the initials of Nicholas Briot,³ besides a number of unsigned medallions, some of which are known

¹ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 224, No. 81, Charles, Duke of York and Albany, afterwards Charles I; and vol. i, p. 201, No. 32, Princess Elizabeth on her marriage to Frederick, Count Palatine.

² A thin silver portrait of Queen Elizabeth, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 183, No. 186, described by Dr. G. F. Hill in his *Medals of the Renaissance*, p. 158. One may, however, without hesitation, pronounce a tiny shell of the Earl of Essex in 1597 (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 173, No. 169), to be the product of a die.

³ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 243, No. 11. Usually considered to have been made for largess at the Coronation, but which I have reason to believe was intended for a reckoning counter, as I have a complete set of them in a box. A somewhat similar shell representing Henrietta Maria is unsigned, but was probably the work of the same artist (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 240, No. 6).

to be the work of Thomas Rawlins. Of those by Rawlins the most important are two struck obverses, being clichés from dies prepared for military rewards of the Civil War, of which more anon. Another less interesting shell which bears the head of Charles I, in my cabinet, throws additional light on the methods of Rawlins, an artist whose Civil War badges are, as a rule, cast and chased, a struck example being but rarely found. This cliché strengthens our belief, founded on the occasional discovery of a struck badge of a type habitually cast and chased, that Rawlins usually made at least one pair of dies in each case, and only resorted to casting for the sake of expedition and economy, and possibly also because of the absence of continual facilities for striking medals during the war.



MILITARY REWARD.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i,
p. 302, No. 123.)



EDGEHILL MEDAL.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i,
p. 298, No. 118.)

The shell, which I referred to above, shows the portrait which appears upon the obverses of two rare cast badges, combined in the one case with a reverse signed by Rawlins,¹ while in the other the plain back is incised with a memorial inscription.² Rawlins died in 1670, and we have no certainty as to the date when the obverse was executed, possibly not until after the Restoration. But the military reward of 1643, commemorating the Battle of Edgehill of the previous year, and consisting of two cast and chased plates soldered together—representing Charles I with his son—appears also in the British Museum in the form of a struck cliché, as figured above.

¹ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 444, No. 195.

² *Ibid.*, No. 194.

The same process, that of a preliminary die and struck cliché of the obverse, was followed, for the badge usually called the Edgehill Medal, from the National Collection, which is probably of about the same date, and is illustrated on the opposite page.

The "Military Reward" was obviously intended to be combined with different and suitable reverses, according to the action which called for recognition ; and a drawing upon the warrant conferring this decoration upon Sir Robert Walsh,¹ the rescuer of the Royal Standard at Edgehill, shows that in his case a special design was used portraying the standard in question.

In the reign of Charles II little pieces for distribution, for decoration of small articles of plate or tobacco-boxes, for book-bindings or for counters and the cases which contained them, became quite common,² but it is no longer amongst medals only that we find thin silver shells. Thomas Simon, as I have already remarked, made trial-pieces in this manner to prove his dies prepared for various coins, hammered or milled, and I possess such clichés of the hammered half-crown and unite of his first coinage and of his famous Petition Crown, 1663, struck by the mill and press.

Medals and jettons were also issued by this artist composed of two clichés set back to back³ in a silver rim, a form of medallion already adopted in 1613 by an unidentified and probably foreign artist. This clever medallist, whose full name, so far as I am aware, is not known, signed his initials, "I. D. B.," on a pair of shells commemorating the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of James I, with Frederick Elector Palatine,⁴ in the year above mentioned.

The instances given above are by no means exhaustive, and

¹ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 302, No. 124.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 445-49, Nos. 21-31 ; p. 484, No. 97 ; and pp. 487-88, Nos. 105-8.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 453, No. 38.

⁴ The British Museum specimen is cast and chased, but it is noted in *Medallic Illustrations* that two shells united were in Mr. May's collection, and I have seen a similar piece in the Hunter cabinet, and have myself the two separate shells.

are merely intended to show that the large portrait struck upon a thin sheet of silver from a die made for the purpose, was the natural development of the cliché, made to prove the die before it was finally hardened.

It is clear that shells, economical yet effective, were used for presentation in England during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it is even possible that such thin silver medallions were brought over or sent to Scotland by James Francis Edward, struck from old dies in the hands of the Roettiers family. The three memorial examples—the rare head of Charles II in the more sculpturesque style mentioned on p. 231, and the usual presentments of Charles I and James II, now at Kinnordy in Forfarshire—are cases in point. These medallions, inherited by Lord Lyell from a distant relative, the last of his line, and long treasured in an old Highland residence, are contemporaneously framed alike and suggest corroborative evidence of such presentation. They also suggest that the larger head of Charles II was sometimes used as one of the series to which the smaller example in Mr. E. M. Burnett's Collection more properly belongs.





FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

CYCLE-CLUB GLASSES WITH EMBLEMS AND THE WORD "FIAT."
(HAMILTON-CLEMENTS COLLECTION.)

JACOBITE DRINKING GLASSES AND THEIR RELATION TO THE JACOBITE MEDALS.

BY GRANT R. FRANCIS, *President.*

IT would appear impossible that there could be any connection between such fragile and delicate objects as table glasses and the science of numismatics, and when the suggestion was made to me that I should attempt to trace such a relation, at first sight I was very sceptical, and inclined to doubt whether it was a subject which would prove of interest to members of the British Numismatic Society, even if the connection existed.

The suggestion was engendered by an examination of some interesting Jacobite drinking and toasting glasses, and particularly by the find of an important portrait glass of Prince Charles Edward, which I was fortunate to obtain in the summer of 1922, and I found that the more I considered these glasses, and the closer I looked into the inscriptions on them, the more evident it became that the connection was real and definite. I therefore probed it to the best of my ability, with the result that it has been possible to find the originals of some of the portraits, and of many of the emblems and inscriptions as known on the glasses, on the miniatures and medals of the Jacobite period which are preserved in the National Museums and in the cabinets of our members, and I am hopeful in now putting the result of my researches into print, and in the illustrations which I have been able to secure, to introduce a novel subject that is not altogether without numismatic interest.

In so doing I must admit that I am unable to produce any new facts or data which advance our knowledge of Jacobite medallic art, except in one instance, but as I see it, the fact that the Jacobite medals and badges are in several cases responsible for the inscription on the glasses, is surely evident, and if they can throw some needed light on the origin of the ideas which actuated the loyal and gallant supporters of a lost cause nearly two centuries ago, we shall not altogether have wasted our time, and this paper will not have been written in vain.

I have asked various owners of some of the priceless glasses illustrated, to supply me with photographs of them, besides having similar photographs taken of such of my own specimens as will illustrate my remarks, and by this means I hope to be able to show the types and engravings of the glasses and their connection with the medallic art of the period. I therefore desire to make suitable acknowledgment to those ladies and gentlemen who have supplied me with the necessary material to enable me to "adorn my tale."

The beautiful glasses of which illustrations have been handed to me by our member, Mr. Hamilton Clements, are specimens which are quite without parallel, and are the gems of a wonderful collection which is one day destined to add to the treasures of the British Museum.

Miss Farquhar has also provided me with photographs of some of those rare objects from her collection of Jacobite relics with which the Society has already become familiar in her papers and exhibits, and Mr. Andrew is able to lend from his collection of Jacobite medals all those which appear to have any bearing on my subject, except two, which have been obtained from the British Museum.

One of these is the very rare pewter medal which was struck from an obverse made for the abortive attempt in 1708, commemorative of the alleged "Restoration of the Kingdom to James III," and from a new reverse die which, Dr. Hill of the British Museum has pointed out, was broken before it was used. The medal was, therefore, only struck in pewter, because the broken die could only be used with soft metal, and it is very rare. See Figure F, p. 262.

Apart from a unique portrait glass attributed to the Chevalier de St. George, which is in the collection of another of our members, Mr. Joseph Bles, the first-known Jacobite glasses were of one form, typical of the period about 1720, and were all similar in inscription ; they have no recognisable numismatic origin or connection, and, although excessively rare, they may be very briefly noticed.

All bear the royal cipher of " King James III " (proclaimed at St. Germain, 16th September, 1701). Beneath "*J. R.*" direct and reversed, under a royal crown, appear two or more verses of the Jacobite paraphrase of the present national anthem, " God Save the King." This hymn is interesting, and perhaps worth inserting in full. The first verse is still familiar to us to-day ; the others were frankly treasonable in the reign of King George the First :—

God save the King, I pray,
God bless the King, I pray,
God save the King.

Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Soon to reign over us,
God save the King.

God bless the Prince of Wales,
The true-born Prince of Wales,
Sent us by Thee.
Grant us one favour more,
The King for to restore,
As Thou hast done before
The familie.

God save the Church, I pray,
God bless the Church, I pray,
Pure to remain
Against all heresie,
And Whig's Hipocrasie,
Who strive maliciouslie
Her to defame.

God bless the subjects all,
 And save both great and small
 In every station.
 That will bring home the King,
 Who hath best right to reign,
 It is the only thing
 Can save the Nation.—*Amen.*

In this hymn as inscribed, glass collectors have always considered the “true-born Prince of Wales” to refer to Prince Charles Edward, and as the glasses were probably made and inscribed to celebrate his birth on the 31st of December, 1720, they have some reason to so suppose; but there is little doubt that the anthem itself was in use long before that, and the original reference to the “true-born Prince of Wales” was in refutation of the Whig calumny that James Francis Edward was not the King’s son at all, but was smuggled into the royal bedchamber in a warming-pan. Obviously there could be no need to emphasise the “true birth” of Prince Charles if his father were, in fact, King James III of England, as was then claimed by the users of these glasses.



FIG. A.—MEDAL COMMEMORATIVE OF BIRTH OF PRINCE CHARLES.
 (From *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, p. 232.)

The glasses were undoubtedly made after the Chevalier’s attempt to regain the throne in 1715. Their type and style makes it certain that they are not much earlier than 1720, and from certain

characteristics of the engraving and the use of the word "bliss" for "bless" on all of them, it has been suggested that they were engraved in France, but as "bliss" is also frequently used in Scotland, they may have been engraved in the North, and the birth of Prince Charles would appear to be the most likely event which they would be produced to commemorate.

On one of these glasses after the word "Amen" is the later and significant addition of the date 1749, which may be in allusion to the election of the Duke of York a Cardinal of the Church of Rome, an event which was considered the death blow to Jacobite hopes. This glass was evidently once dedicated to him, as it bears on its other side an inscription of a later date than the hymn, reading "To His Royal Highness Prince Henry, Duke of Albany and York."

The next glass, which is definitely Jacobite in origin, has long been the property of the Wynns of Wynnstay, a house which for many years was the "home" of the celebrated Cycle Club. It shows, for the first time on glass, a representation of the "White Rose of Stuart" with a single bud, and is inscribed round the edge "God bless the Prince." Doubtless this also was commemorative of the birth of Prince Charles, as the glass in this case also is contemporary with that event. These are all the relics of very early Jacobite days that we know of in glasses, except some few with coins imprisoned in the stems to which I shall allude later.

I must here digress for a moment to touch upon the use and significance of the emblem of the expanded White Rose on the glasses, and its relation to the similar emblem on medals and other Jacobite relics. It has been well suggested that the use of this rose by the Jacobites originated in the fact that James II had been originally Duke of York. Miss Farquhar has an enamel portrait of Prince Charles, Figure 21, which has on the reverse a five-petalled white rose—the heraldic rose of England so much used by Henry VIII and Elizabeth—conjoined with the shamrock and thistle. This rose was the badge of the "White Rose Society," and it also appears on the medal of 1749 known as the "Highlander" medal. *Medallic Illustrations*, II, 655–358. See Figure G, p. 265.

The only known glasses which exhibit the true heraldic rose of five petals are two in the Royal Collection at Balmoral, which will be dealt with later, and a small late glass recently shown to me by Mr. Cecil Davis, which has no buds.



FIG. B.—FIVE-PETALLED ROSE AS IT APPEARS ON THE ROSA-AMERICANA HALFPENNY IN THE COLONIAL COINAGE OF GEORGE I.

(From *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 271.)

On all other Jacobite glasses the rose is represented with six, seven or eight petals, and any glass of the period, genuinely so engraved, whether it bears any other engraving or motto, or not, may safely be regarded as a relic of the Jacobite movement.

A good deal of conjecture has centred upon this use of what I may term the "quasi-heraldic" rose on the glasses, and various fantastic theories have been advanced for the use of six, seven or eight petals, one being that each petal represented a Stuart king; but this idea is entirely exploded by the glass we last considered, which has an eight-petalled rose, and is undoubtedly earlier than any of those with six and seven petals. The fact remains, however, that a five-petalled rose was practically never shown on the authentic club glasses, and in this essential they differ from other relics. My own opinion is that the engraver simply enlarged his rose by adding extra petals entirely at his own fancy, according to the amount of space he had at his disposal upon which to work.

The rose in nearly every case was accompanied by either one or two natural buds springing from the same stem, and the use of these offshoots is, I think, intentional and emblematical. The rose represents the Chevalier "James III," and the two buds are his two sons

Prince Charles and Prince Henry. It has been suggested that when one bud only appears—as in the example just considered—it dates the glass as being either prior to the birth of Prince Henry, or subsequent to his acceptance of his Cardinal's Hat, an event which bitterly offended the Jacobite Protestants.

We now come to what I may term the second series of Jacobite glasses, that is, those used by the clubs and societies, and my readers must forgive me if the chronological sequence of the glasses does not quite synchronise with events, because the third and most important series, the portrait glasses, broke into and were contemporaneous with some of those in the second series.

The Cycle Club was instituted on June 10th, 1710, on the birthday of the titular King James III. The Club used no special glasses, except perhaps the example we last noticed, which is still at Wynn-stay, until after it was reconstructed in 1724; but it was then agreed "That the Club shall meet at the house of Daniel Porter, Innholder in Wrexham, on the first day of May, 1724," and that a new member should be elected every month thereafter. The rules were very carefully drawn up, and, of course, the political and treasonable nature of the Club studiously concealed. The "word" of the Society was "FIAT," and every member of the Club provided himself with a special glass in which to toast "The King over the Water," each standing and holding his glass over a central bowl, whilst he pledged "The King," subsequently kissing the star engraved on his glass. The glasses used in connection with these rites were engraved with the rose and buds, an oak leaf, or a six-pointed star, or all of these emblems, and the word "FIAT."

All glasses so inscribed are indubitably glasses of the Cycle Club. They are all of early types and period of glass, and present little difficulty in attribution. They were probably regularly in use at Cycle meetings from about 1730 until the events which culminated in Culloden, when they must have been exceedingly dangerous to possess.

It is in these Cycle-Club glasses, and in the emblem of the six-pointed star, that we find our first medallic parallel in the MICAT INTER OMNES medal of 1729, *Medallic Illustrations*, II, 492-34.

This medal has the Prince as a young boy—necessarily, as he was only eight years old when it was struck—with the six-rayed star before his face. The obverse legend, MICAT INTER OMNES,



FIG. C.—JACOBITE MEDAL WITH SIX-POINTED STAR.
(W. J. ANDREW COLLECTION.)

intimates that “He shines amongst all,” and that on the reverse ALTER AB ILLO, refers to Prince Henry—whose bust appears on that side—as shining after him. The connection between this medal of 1729 and the undated glasses made for clubs then operating, is therefore definite.

In or about the year 1740 John Shaw’s Club and others sprang up in quick succession, and the “expanded white rose” with its buds would appear to have been used by all of them on their glasses, sometimes in conjunction with the star and oak leaf, but of course always without the word “FIAT,” which was special to the Cycle Club.

These Club glasses with emblems but no “word,” were probably all prior to the Rising of 1745, for, owing to the severe and brutal measures then taken to stamp out Jacobitism, and especially after Culloden, it would become too dangerous to produce or use them in such large numbers as previously.

Differing types exist with these symbols, but without any other emblem or motto, and I now suggest—with a full knowledge of the surprise that suggestion will give some collectors of Jacobite glasses—that those I have already described, and only those, were the glasses

used prior to the Jacobite Rising in 1745, and that all others, the various motto glasses, the portrait glasses, and the butterfly glasses, which last, although not hitherto definitely accepted as Jacobite relics, I hope to prove without any shadow of doubt were such, were



FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

CLUB GLASSES WITH EMBLEMS BUT NO "WORD."
(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

engraved subsequently to Culloden, to keep the spirit then engendered, alive for a later attempt. To this statement, however, an exception must be made of unengraved glasses which contain coins in the stem. They are extremely rare, and appear to have been occasionally made between 1700 and 1750, but as they display no

inscription or symbols, I must deal with them quite as a separate class after the symbolic glasses.

Of glasses which simply show the expanded rose and buds I illustrate three typical examples with six, Figure 5, seven, Figure 6,



FIG. 5.

FIG. 7.

FIG. 6.

DIFFERING FORMS OF THE ROSE ON GLASSES.
(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

and eight petals, Figure 7, to which I have referred earlier. It will be noticed that these leave out the seriously incriminating emblems, and little exception could be taken to them, as the expanded rose was occasionally used in connections other than Jacobite.

I next pass to the post-Culloden period, when it must be remembered that the glamour of the attempt, and particularly of

the Prince's escape, enormously increased his popularity and that of the Highland dress in which he is invariably represented on the portrait glasses now to be considered. This is a point which I must stress in endeavouring to fix the date of these glasses. As Mr. Andrew rightly pointed out to me :—

Charles was unknown to the Jacobite Cause until, to the world's surprise, he sailed for Scotland in the spring of 1745, and until that fact was accomplished, any Jacobite portrait glass would, as a matter of course, have had the titular King's and not the Prince's head engraved upon it. Further, he had nothing whatever to do with Scotland before 1745, and all his portraits before that time show him in Court dress or uniform of the period. After his landing in Scotland, however, he declared that he would march to London in the tartan, as stated in Johnston's Memoirs, and the fact that he made his attempt in it, and the romance of his escape, were the causes of the popularity of the Highland dress, and of the Prince being represented in it in most of his subsequent portraits.

A brief description of the Prince as he appeared on his arrival in Manchester and other towns on his march to Derby will not be without interest here.

Prince Charles entered Manchester at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, walking in the midst of a select body of the Clans. His dress was a light tartan plaid, belted with a blue sash, and he wore a grey wig over his own fair hair, and the blue velvet bonnet which seems to have been his covering throughout the whole campaign, was now adorned in the centre of the top with a white rose to distinguish him from his officers, all of whom wore their cockades on one side.

It is rather peculiar that this description and Sir Robert Strange's portrait should represent him in a tartan doublet, and that he is so depicted on all his portraits on drinking glasses, because, although the plaid and kilt were always of the Clan tartan, this

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was not often the case with the doublet, which was usually self-coloured according to the fancy of the wearer.

In this connection I cannot refrain from adding a delightful verse from an old Scottish song, for which I am again indebted to Mr. Andrew, and which is particularly appropriate to any consideration of Prince Charles's personal appearance :—

“ Oh ! better lov'd he canna' be ;
Yet when we see him wearing
Our Hielan' garb sae gracefully
'Tis aye the mair endearing.
Though a' that now adorns his brow
Be but a simple bonnet,
Ere lang we'll see of Kingdoms three
The Royal Crown upon it.
Send round the Usquebaugh sae clear
We'll tak' a horn thegither.”

From that period the Prince, and not his father, became the hope and idol of the Jacobites, and any glasses which have even a slight reference to Charles and not to James, or which show him in Highland dress, must be post-Culloden productions. But we shall have stronger evidence in many of them than this mere statement !

We find comparatively very few Cycle-Club glasses bearing the emblems previously described and the word “ FIAT,” which have any reference to Prince Charles, but four such are known which add the Prince of Wales's feathers under the foot. These four glasses were from the Oxburgh Hall find, and are now in the possession of Mr. Hamilton Clements. The history of this find is interesting, and may be narrated here from *The Bargain Book*, by C. E. Jerningham and Lewis Bettany.

Mr. C. E. Jerningham, the journalist and author, and an ardent glass collector, whilst paying a visit to Oxburgh Hall in September, 1907, was discussing Jacobite relics, and particularly glasses, with



FIG. 8.

FIG. 9.

"FIAT" GLASSES FROM THE OXBURGH HALL FIND.

(HAMILTON-CLEMENTS COLLECTION.)



FIG. 10.

PORTRAIT GOBLET FROM OXBURGH HALL.
(HAMILTON-CLEMENTS COLLECTION.)

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his host, Sir Henry Bedingfeld, who mentioned that in his youth he had heard that there were "still some curious glasses in the house."

Orders were accordingly given to have the contents of the china cupboard removed to a table in the housekeeper's room, and when that was done, Sir Henry and his guest went down to examine the motley collection. In the centre of hundreds of pieces of modern glass were eleven specimens of the Jacobite period, which, as they were covered with dust, had probably not been touched for years. *The Bargain Book.*

The whole of the eleven specimens referred to were purchased by Mr. Hamilton Clements. One of the glasses in this find, and by far the most interesting, is the goblet bearing the portrait of Prince Charles, flanked by the rose and thistle, and bearing in script on the reverse side the rhymed inscription :—

" Charles ye Great, ye Brave, the Just and Good
Brittania's Prince, ye noblest of her Bld.
Thy Glorious Feats the World may pr^m.
Brittania's Glory and Brittane Shame."

The sentiment in the verse on this glass, even if it lacks something in rhythm, does not fail in loyal admiration ! The last two lines are an obvious allusion to the Prince's attempt to regain the Crown for his father in 1745-46. Charles had no "Glorious Feats" to proclaim before that event, and the allusion to "Brittania's Glory" in his "Feats," and "Brittane Shame" in setting a price on his head, is convincing, and makes it certain that this glass was made after his escape to the Continent.

I have been happy, through Miss Farquhar, to have been able to trace the original of the portrait on this unique glass in a print in the British Museum, their No. 24, and to obtain a photograph of it. Figure 11.

The original of the Museum print is believed to be an oil painting by Dominique Dupra, painted in Rome in 1745. If this is so, it

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confirms my deduction of the reason for the Prince not being shown in the print in the afterwards popular Highland dress, and for the fact that his costume has been altered to the tartan in the engraving on the glass, which is otherwise faithfully copied from the print. The oak bough shown with the helm and the Prince of Wales's feathers, which appear under the portrait in the engraving, should be noted in connection with the frequent use of oak leaves and sprays on the glasses.

On the 29th of May, 1660, Charles II entered London on his restoration, and incidentally on his birthday, wearing a sprig of oak leaves, in commemoration of his escape through the agency of the Boscobel oak after the Battle of Worcester in September, 1651, and "Oak Apple Day" was instituted to commemorate the anniversary of his restoration, not of his escape. We doubtless owe the constant use of the oak leaf on Jacobite glasses to these facts.



FIG. D.—THE "OAK MEDAL" OF CHARLES II.

(From *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v, p. 251.)

Connected with the Oxburgh Hall glass, and undoubtedly engraved from the same original portrait, is another important goblet, now, I am glad to say, in my own collection. It was probably made and ornamented by the same hand as Mr. Clements's glass, but, instead of the rhyme at the back, it has the rarest of the known Virgilian mottoes used at this time on the portrait glasses, HIC VIR HIC EST.

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FIG. 11.

PORTRAIT OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, AFTER DOMINIQUE DUPRA.

Original of the Portraits on Figs. 10 and 12.

(BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION.)



FIG. 12.

PORTRAIT GOBLET WITH "HIC VIR HIC EST" MOTTO.
(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

This glass is one of two which had remained in the family of Mr. Addis Price, of Woking, from whom I bought it last year. Its fellow was sold in 1912 to Sir John Risley, and was illustrated by him in the *Burlington Magazine* of June, 1920. The legend attaching to these glasses as given to me by Mr. Addis Price, is that they were made with others in the City of Worcester in 1745 for a banquet to be given by his ancestor to the Prince on his march through England, but, for the reason already given, I fear we must reject quite such an early and romantic origin, and attribute this to "after Culloden" also. The tartan jacket is conclusive on this point.

This glass is specially interesting because it provides our next medallic connection. The motto HIC VIR HIC EST, which is otherwise unknown upon glass, is taken from Virgil's panegyric on Augustus Cæsar, which—ignoring the Latin and taking its English interpretation—reads :—

Here is Cæsar and all the lineage of Julius destined to appear under the mighty vault of Heaven. This is the man, this is he of whom thou ofttimes hearest. Augustus Cæsar, Scion of a God who shall yet again establish the Golden Age to the Romans, over lands that Saturn sometime ruled.

Now let us turn to the "Restoration-of-the-Kingdom" medal, engraved by Norbert Roettiers in 1708, which shows on the obverse the bust of James III with the motto CVIVS EST 'Whose image is this?' The obverse was reissued with a later reverse, obviously struck in commemoration of Prince Charles's invasion. It is very slightly varied, to meet the political conditions, from the Virgilian verse already referred to and, freely interpreted into English, reads :—

Thule. This is the man, this is he of whose promised coming thou ofttimes hearest, James the King, Scion of Divine origin, who yet again shall restore the Golden Age to the Scots.

Now although the obverse of this medal was engraved for use at the time of the abortive invasion in 1708, it was then issued in two sizes with another reverse showing the Islands of Great Britain

and Ireland, with the motto "Reddite" for "Render to Cæsar," etc., *Medallic Illustrations*, II, 312-133.



FIG. E.—THE SMALLER "REDDITE" MEDAL OF PRINCE JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD.
(From *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, p. 235.)

Dr. Hill, of the Coin and Medal Department of the British Museum, says of the second or Virgilian reverse, that it is of later lettering than the obverse, but I must go much further than this, and claim that the old obverse die of 1708 was used with a new reverse die, hurriedly struck, to commemorate the invasion of 1745, and though "Jacobus III" is properly and correctly still shown on the medal, the reverse claim "This is the man" refers to the Prince's advent as coming in his father's name and who proclaimed himself merely as Regent, "With all the authority of the King, our Father."



FIG. F.—"JAMES III" MEDAL WITH "THVLE. HIC VIR HIC EST" INSCRIPTION.
(BRITISH MUSEUM.)

The word *THVLE*, with which the reverse inscription starts, is an obvious allusion to the Prince's landing at Eriskay, in the

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FIG. 13.

GLASS INSCRIBED "ADVENTIOR IBO."
(HAMILTON-CLEMENTS COLLECTION.)

Hebrides, and necessitates the removal of this medal in *Medallic Illustrations* and other works from the date of the previous REDDITE issue with the same obverse, 1708, to the 1745 period. Miss Farquhar has one of the very few impressions which exist of the medal, and another is in the British Museum. *Medallic Illustrations*, II, 314-137.

The invocation THVLE on this medal is very interesting when it is remembered that William of Orange had used a similar formula, TORBAY, on the medal struck to commemorate his landing in England.

After Culloden, Charles, and not his father, became the centre of the Jacobite hopes, and it will be noted that it is the Prince's portrait, and not the "King's," which the glass shows, and makes the significant claim for, that "This is the man." Further, all medals struck subsequently to Culloden also have the portrait of Charles instead of his father, and this glass may therefore be safely attributed to 1746 or after, whilst the medal was struck in 1745.

I should here mention that Lord Beauchamp, through Miss Farquhar, sent me a photograph of a painting in his possession which is very similar to the Museum print, our Figure 11, and it was thought that this might possibly be the origin of the portrait on these two glasses, but the somewhat coarser features and the shape of the wig in the Museum print make it apparent that that is the true original. Lord Beauchamp's portrait is also in ordinary costume, not tartan, and was probably painted before 1745, and possibly by J. Van Diest.

Our next step takes us to the "Highlander" Medal of 1749, *Medallic Illustrations*, II, 655-358, and to the glasses engraved with the motto AVDENTIOR IBO, Figure 13, which may be roughly interpreted, "Next time I will go even more boldly." This glass is the property of Mr. Clements.

Mr. Crowther-Beynon, a member of our Council, has also three similar glasses, which are of special interest because they are the remains of a set which has descended as an heirloom in his family for generations, and I imagine that for three glasses with the portrait

of the Prince, and from the same set, to thus descend into the possession of one person, is an incident quite unique.

The same portrait appears in an oval on a rare little glass in my collection which bears no inscription of any kind, and so far as I am aware this specimen, Figure 14, and Mr. Clements's enamelled glass, Figure 23, are the only two portrait glasses not additionally embellished with some emblems or motto.



FIG. 14.—GLASS WITH THE “AVDENTIOR IBO” PORTRAIT, BUT NO MOTTO.
(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

The AVDENTIOR IBO glass in the collection of Mr. Clements—Figure 13—and all other glasses bearing this motto have one common feature. For they all bear the same portrait of the Prince, except one recently shown to me by Mr. Arthur Churchill, which appears to be of much later date and is in all probability merely a commemorative glass. I have not yet found the original of this portrait, but the likeness to the tiny figure on the Highlander medal

cannot be ignored, albeit the latter shows the Prince with drawn broadsword and targe, the latter inscribed, "Who can contend with me." Moreover, the legend on the medal, translated, "I will leave no stone unturned to obtain that"—the English rose on the reverse—is the very spirit of AVDENTIOR IBO, though the actual words do not appear. Figure G.

As I mentioned previously, there are two cordial glasses in the collection of Jacobite relics formed by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria at Balmoral, that have the same portrait and the AVDENTIOR IBO inscription, but in the case of these glasses, almost the only instance known, the White Rose has only five petals.



FIG. G.—THE "HIGHLANDER" MEDAL (W. J. ANDREW COLLECTION).

We now come to a few glasses which have no portrait, but instead show the rose and buds and the stock of a decadent oak tree, from the roots of which spring two young and vigorous shoots, with the word REVIRESCIT above it, an inscription and device first used by Charles II during the Commonwealth and when his restoration was being planned. Figures H and I.

Two extremely rare cordial glasses are in the possession of the family of Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, a family that suffered greatly in the Stuart cause. One of them is as just described, and has under the foot the Prince of Wales's feathers mounted in a coronet. The companion glass also exhibits a bourgeoning oak tree, but from this spring merely two oak leaves, above which is the six-rayed star with the word "FIAT" and the Prince's feathers, under the foot, are without the coronet. Obviously the Macdonald of the day

was an affiliated member of the Cycle Club. Two very similar glasses are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and of one of these I show an illustration—Figure 15—where the spelling is REVERESCIT.



FIG. 15.—GLASS WITH BOURGEONING OAK AND "REVERESCIT"
(VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM).

Next is a goblet which is in Mr. Joseph Bles's collection, now on view at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The design is identical with the first-mentioned Macdonald glass, except that REVIRESCIT is in script instead of capitals.¹

This glass held the record auction price for a single specimen at £395 until 1924, when it was exceeded by an AMEN glass.

All these glasses, of course, have their direct connection with the REVIRESCIT medal of 1750, known as "The Oak Medal," which definitely dates them. *Medallic Illustrations*, II, 655-359. Figure J.



FIG. H.—CHARLES II MEDAL WITH THE "REVIRESCIT" MOTTO.
(From *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 273.)



FIG. I.—CHARLES II BADGE WITH THE STRICKEN OAK TREE.
(From *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 273.)

It was made by Thomas Pingo at the cost of the Jacobite "Oak Society," which met at the Crown and Anchor Inn, opposite St. Clement Danes Church, in the Strand, and quite probably the "REVIRESCIT" glasses were designed for members of that Society.



FIG. J.—JACOBITE MEDAL WITH STRICKEN OAK AND "REVIRESCIT."
(W. J. ANDREW COLLECTION.)

In 1750, and again in 1752, Charles paid "secret visits" to London; that in the latter year, however, is supposed to have been known to and connived at by the British Government. This visit is commemorated by the medal which has the bust of Charles to the right, and the motto REDEAT MAGNUS ILLE GENIUS BRITANNIÆ, 'May he the great genius of Britain return.' It is dated 1752. *Medallic Illustrations*, II, 670-380. Figure K.



FIG. K.—PRINCE CHARLES "REDEAT MAGNUS ILLE" MEDAL, 1752.
(BRITISH MUSEUM.)



FIG. L.—"AMOR ET SPES" MEDAL. (W. J. ANDREW COLLECTION.)

Other glasses made in anticipation or in commemoration of Prince Charles's visits have different mottoes and provide other types of engraving. A set which has the Prince of Wales's feathers on the



FIG. 16.

FIG. 17.

JACOBITE GLASSES WITH EMBLEMS AND THE WORD "REDEAT."

(HAMILTON-CLEMENTS COLLECTION.)

bowl, and the word REDEAT, is preserved in Radbourne Hall, Derbyshire, the then hostile house where Prince Charles commandeered a lunch on the day that he entered Derby.

A fine goblet in my own collection has the rose and two buds, the star, and the same word. Of this glass Mr. Clements has its fellow from the same set, Figure 16, and a smaller glass, shown with it, with the same inscription and details, Figure 17. This is a rare combination of symbols.

Since this paper was read to the Society I have been privileged to examine the wonderful collection of glasses belonging to Mr. Kirkby Mason, which contains a very interesting series of Jacobite examples, and I must mention a REDEAT glass, which appears at first sight to throw some slight doubt upon my attribution of all the glasses with this motto to 1750-52.

Mr. Kirkby Mason's glass itself—from the evidence of both its form and detail—is considerably earlier than that, and certainly not later than 1740, and another, in the cabinet of Dr. Young, is even earlier. Of course there is no reason why REDEAT should not have been the club motto, or "word," before the issue of the medal struck in that year, but if we accept the inference that the official medals were the forerunners of the inscriptions on the glasses—as I think we must on the evidence I am able to produce in this monograph—then we must rule out the inscription on Mr. Kirkby Mason's and Dr. Young's glasses as having been engraved before 1752, unless we have some other corroborative evidence of the use of the word REDEAT prior to that date on the glasses, which at present appears to be lacking.

One explanation of this apparent anomaly is very simple, and I advance it for what it is worth. The REVIRESCIT medal we know was engraved to the order of "The Oak Society," and it is possible that that Society was responsible for the REDEAT medal also, and, following precedent, that it adopted "REDEAT" as its "word," and inscribed it on the glasses used by its members, exactly as the Cycle Club had adopted "FIAT." Now, although—if this is correct—that word would not be likely to appear on a glass

prior to 1752, there was nothing to prevent glasses made before that date being then engraved, and doubtless this was done in other instances also, and accounts for apparent discrepancies of age between individual specimens of glasses which bear identical inscriptions, and were probably engraved simultaneously.

The Rev. Walter Woolcombe had a set of five glasses also with the rose and buds and the star, but bearing the motto REDDAS INCOLVMEM otherwise unknown on glasses, which is reminiscent of the same Virgilian quotation from which the HIC VIR motto was taken. Finally, in this connection, are three glasses engraved on the bowl only, with the rose and two buds, but with the motto REDI, probably an abbreviation of REDII, "I returned," between two oak leaves twice engraved on the foot. That illustrated is from Mr. Clements's collection, and an exactly similar glass is in the collection of Mrs. F. H. Thomas, of Elstree. It appears probable that these were commemorative of one of the royal visits. Figure 18.

We next turn again to the Cycle Club of about the same period, 1750-52, in two goblets, having a new motto, TVRNO TEMPVS ERIT. Three very similar examples are also known, which have the Stuart six-petalled rose and two buds, the word of the Cycle, "FIAT," and the six-pointed star, in addition to the motto, TVRNO TEMPVS ERIT. This is the only known case where a Virgilian motto is inscribed on a glass which can be definitely attributed to the Cycle Club.

Another glass, otherwise identical in shape and style with the REVIRESCIT goblet, is also recorded by Sir John Risley in *The Burlington Magazine*. The engraving is identical with that on my eight-petalled rose glass, Figure 7, but it bears, in addition to the rose, an oak spray with acorns, the six-pointed star, and the motto, TVRNO TEMPVS ERIT. It would appear probable, therefore, that all glasses with this motto were made for members of the Cycle, but in the absence of the "word" of that organisation on some of them this cannot be definitely stated as a fact.

There is yet another series of portrait glasses which may be

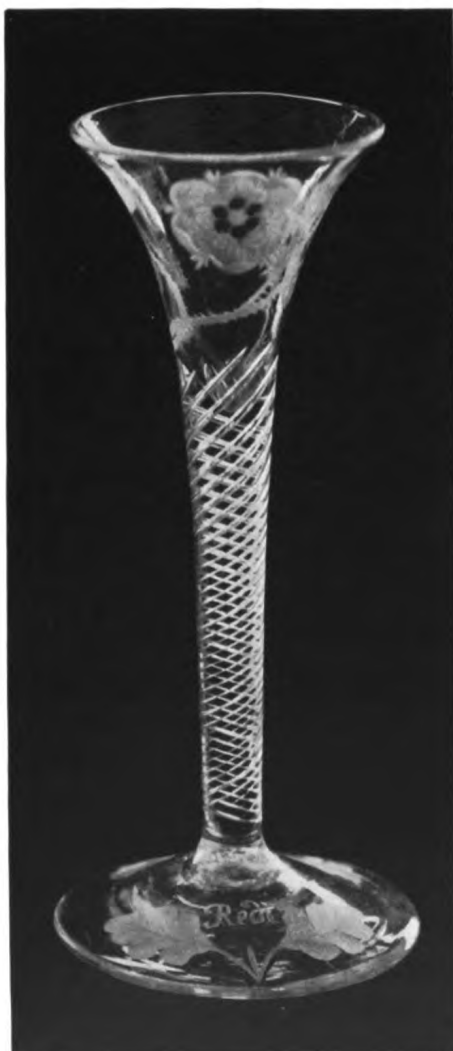


FIG. 18.
GLASS INSCRIBED "REDI" BETWEEN
OAK LEAVES ON FOOT.
(HAMILTON-CLEMENTS COLLECTION.)



FIG. 19.
PORTRAIT GLASS OF PRINCE CHARLES
EDWARD FACING LEFT.
(JOSEPH BLES COLLECTION.)

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Club relics subsequent to the Rising of "the '45," but these are somewhat of a problem. They have quite a different portrait of the Prince in profile and in a curly wig. He is represented in the usual tartan jacket, and wearing the riband and star of the Garter, and the whole portrait is within a wreath of berried laurel, supported on the right by the rose and bud, and on the left by a thistle and bud, with a six-rayed star between them on the reverse side of the glass.

The original of all these glasses would appear to be a very remarkable goblet, formerly the property of a Miss Taylor, of Bournemouth, which was subsequently sold at Sotheby's rooms, and is now in the collection of Mr. Joseph Bles. In the type of glass it is very similar to, and is contemporary with, the REVIRESCIT and TVRNO TEMPVS ERIT goblets just described, but here the rose is seven-petalled, and it will be observed that the Prince is represented facing towards the left, and with the riband and star of the Garter displayed on the left breast, as is, of course, correct. Now, this fine portrait must have its prototype somewhere, and for reasons which I shall give, it was probably a contemporaneous print, though at present I have not been able to trace it; but we have glasses with a similar portrait that present one of the most curious features of the whole series.

They are of many forms and styles of glass, and probably this portrait is the presentment most frequently found, but with the single exception of Mr. Bles's glass, Figure 19, every one of them exhibits the portrait reversed, that is, facing to the right instead of to the left, and with the riband and star wrongly shown upon the right breast instead of on the left. Figure 20.

The specimen here illustrated was formerly the property of Lord Lamborne, and is now in Mr. Clements's collection. I have examined several specimens of glasses with the reversed portrait, and have come to the conclusion that, although in most cases the glasses are of English origin—though I have seen one fine goblet that is probably a foreign glass—the engraving on all of them, except on Mr. Bles's specimen, was probably executed abroad. The fact that

they were all copies, and that they all represent the Prince with the order and riband on the wrong breast, goes to support this view. They were possibly engraved after 1752 to the Prince's own order,



FIG. 20.—PORTRAIT GLASS OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD FACING RIGHT.
PROBABLY COPIED FROM THE PORTRAIT ON FIG. 19.

(HAMILTON-CLEMENTS COLLECTION.)

and copied from the profile-to-left glass, as gifts to his many partisans who visited him from time to time in his exile. It appears as if a plate had been prepared for printing—which would, of course, have the portrait reversed on it—and that this had been sent to have the





FIG. 22.

PORTRAIT OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, ATTRIBUTED TO SIR ROBERT STRANGE.

Original of the Portraits on Figs. 21, 21a and 23.

(BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION.)

portrait reproduced on the glasses, and the consequent reversing of the portrait, star and riband, was probably the result of slavish copying by foreign workmen.

There is another engraved portrait in the British Museum, numbered 25, which is attributed to Robert Strange, and is undoubtedly the original of Miss Farquhar's enamel, to which allusion has already been made, Figure 21; as also of her silver medal, Figure 21A.



FIG. 21.



FIG. 21A.

ENAMEL PORTRAIT OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, AND UNIFACE SILVER MEDAL,
WITH SAME PORTRAIT, AFTER SIR ROBERT STRANGE.
(BOTH IN THE COLLECTION OF MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.)

The white cockade in the museum print, and the white rosette which supports the Order of the Thistle on the riband, also the three buttons on the right-hand side of the coat, should be specially noted in connection with the photograph of Miss Farquhar's enamel, Figure 21, which has exactly the same details and peculiarities, and there can be no question of its relation to the print, Figure 22.

This portrait is also the original of a very rare glass of Mr. Clements's, Figure 23, which is remarkable in that it is executed in red and white enamel and with a blue bonnet, which is not a process of embellishment usually employed in the decorating of glasses.

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The details are identical on the print, the enamel, and the glass, and such likeness cannot possibly be the result of accident. The Strange portrait shows the Prince in Highland dress, and therefore is subsequent to 1746; the enamel is probably of about the same period, and the glass, Figure 23, cannot well be earlier than 1750, so that they are probably all contemporaries of about the last-named year.



FIG. 23.
ENAMELLED PORTRAIT GLASS.
(HAMILTON-CLEMENTS COLLECTION.)

Another portrait glass in Mr. Clements's collection is engraved with a full-face portrait of the Prince in tartan jacket, and with the star of the Garter, a very similar portrait to that of the AVDENTIOR IBO glass, but not identical. It is flanked by the rose and one bud

and the thistle, and it has the word CAROLVS on a label above the portrait. This is the only known glass where the Prince's name appears, and the type of the glass would appear to indicate that it was made in 1750 or thereabouts. It was possibly commemorative of one of the Prince's visits to London, either in September, 1750, or in September, 1752. Of course the engraving may be a little later, and Mr. Andrew suggests that it might be commemorative of the Prince's Jacobite succession in 1766 on the death of his father, but the glass appears to be an earlier specimen than this date warrants.

It is stated to have been given by the Prince off his own dinner table, following the old regal custom of the presentation of the goblet, to a member of the Berkeley-Calcott family, and there are other cases amongst these portrait glasses, and particularly in the case of the profile type, when he may, in exile, have chosen this medium as an inexpensive way in which to confer the gift of his portrait upon his followers. But the statement made by Mr. Jerningham and other glass writers, that he visited the houses of many of his adherents in England and Scotland in 1745 and left portrait glasses behind him, will not bear consideration. Such a fragile and bulky addition to his baggage would be impossible in the hurry and bustle of an arduous and dangerous campaign.

We now reach a series of glasses which are equal in interest to any that have gone before, as they show unfailingly and without any shadow of doubt the gradual decay of the Jacobite movement and hopes, until in the end it became little more than a sentimental memory.

All these glasses have, in addition to the white rose and buds, a hovering butterfly with expanded wings. At first this emblem is delicately and beautifully engraved, but as time went on the engraving became less and less fine, the rose degenerated into something very far removed from the emblem of the White Rose of York or Stuart, though it still retained its distinctive feature of the six petals, and the butterfly became almost the common moth. Very rarely a bee was also introduced into what we, as numismatists, may

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describe as the "field" of the glass. The earliest of these glasses have air-twisted stems, which prove them to be of the early years following the Culloden disaster. One has the seven-petalled rose and two buds and the butterfly, and therefore, if there is anything in the bud theory previously mentioned, would not be later than 1747. Figure 24. Another is similar, but has only one bud to the rose, which, on the same count, would place it after 1747, when Prince Henry was



FIG. 24.

FIG. 25.

FIG. 26.

JACOBITE GLASSES WITH THE BUTTERFLY IN ADDITION TO THE ROSE AND BUDS.
(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

admitted to the Roman Church, Figure 25, and a third has the same rose and butterfly, but the glass has an opaque twisted stem, which cannot be much earlier than 1755, Figure 26.

A very ornate and rare butterfly glass is exemplified in Figure 27, and is clearly of a late date. It has the usual emblems on the

bowl, but intermingled with the opaque twist in the stem are three lines of brilliant sapphire blue, edging and centering the white. Colour twists of this nature are met with in glasses of the period 1750-70, but I am not aware of any others than the pair in my collection, which are engraved with the Jacobite emblems.

A few curious glasses must now be mentioned which appear to admit the decay of the Movement and the hopes of its supporters.



FIG. 27.

FIG. 28.

FIG. 29.

JACOBITE GLASSES TYPICAL OF THE "DECAY OF THE MOVEMENT."

(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

The earliest has the two buds clearly severed from the stalk, and the glass bears the appropriate motto, *TEMPORA MVDANTVR ET NOS MVDANTVR IN ILLIS*—"The times are changed, and we are changed with them." The erroneous spelling of *MVTANTVR*

should be noted. This glass is in Mr. Clements's collection, and the curious feature of it is that in shape, style and period, 1750, it is identical with the TVRNO TEMPVS ERIT and REVIRESCIT goblets, and was doubtless made at the same time and in the same factory, though its legend breathes quite a different spirit.

Other rare glasses show a grub on the stalk of the rose, and the butterfly has been changed into a destroying moth, also in one case the rose is transformed into a daffodil growing from a sprig of oak, Figure 28, but the meaning of this transformation is not clear. Figure 29 is most unusual as a Jacobite glass in having the "cable coil" on the stem, and it also displays the symbols of decay in the moth and grub.

So far as is at present known, Figure 30 is unique in the Jacobite series; the grub has now become a caterpillar, and the moth a fly approaching a spider's web, whilst a spider is spinning its web between the stalks of the expanded rose and bud.

Finally the rose appeared on examples with the facet-cut stems about 1770 to 1780, when the cause of Jacobitism had faded to little more than a dream, but still the old emblems flourished, and probably the old toasts were still faithfully drunk, irrespective of the fact that the hero of the cause was dying in a foreign land, the very antithesis of that brilliant adventurer whose romantic campaign had won the admiration of Europe.

One of these glasses has merely the rose and a single bud, cut and polished on the bowl. Another has similar emblems, accompanied by a hovering bee. That this was merely a commemorative glass of a dead cause is proved by a portrait ale-glass from the late Mr. J. T. Cater's collection, which was sold at Sotheby's in 1919. It was elaborately engraved with a full-faced portrait of Prince Charles on one side and Britannia on the other, both in wreaths, with a six-petalled rose and two buds, and a thistle and two bees. It was evidently, as Sir John Risley says in *The Burlington*, "a late glass of a purely commemorative nature, and although of less interest than other portrait glasses which were contemporary with the Movement it realised 220 guineas."



FIG. 30.

GLASS ENGRAVED WITH A SPIDER AND WEB, A FLY, AND A CATERPILLAR.
(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

With regard to those glasses which have butterflies and bees in conjunction with the White Rose of Stuart, it has been held by many glass experts that they are not definitely Jacobite specimens ; but this only goes to show how little the subject and meaning of emblematic engraving has been considered. The butterfly is the admitted emblem of the "Return of the Soul." The soul of the Jacobite Movement was Prince Charles Edward Stuart. What more beautiful idea, and more typical emblem, could be used after his defeat at Culloden, and his escape in 1746, than to add the butterfly or the bee to the emblems of the cause for use when toasting "The Return of the Soul" of the Movement ?

The butterfly, the bee, and REVIRESCIT have all precisely the same meaning and were used with the same intent, but if further assurance is required by any who still may doubt, I will quote the following extract sent me by Mr. Andrew :—

The connection between bees and the soul was once generally maintained ; hence Mahomet admits bees to Paradise. Porphyry says of fountains that they are "adapted to the nymphs, or to those souls which the ancients called bees."

Finally, no less than three families of the Stuart clan in Scotland—Stuart of Gairmtully, Stuart of Balcaskie, and Stuart of Tongorth—use one or two bees as their crest to this day !

Before closing my remarks there is just one other extremely rare type of glass which is problematically Jacobite, and certainly numismatic, to which I must refer, namely, those which are called "coin glasses." No such glasses are known prior to 1688, but from that date onwards several specimens exist, and I am the fortunate possessor of two of them. Glasses of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with coins of William III and Anne imprisoned in a bulb in the stem are known, and these are necessarily not Jacobite, but we come then to several glasses which, although a little later in period, almost invariably enclose earlier coins—for instance, of Charles II—and these two facts lead one to ask why ?

One such glass is in the Slade collection in the British Museum.

The late Albert Hartshorne, author of *Old English Glasses*, the standard work on English glass, whilst stating that the coin is misleading, goes on to say: "The glass can hardly be later than the time of William III." In this, however, he is decidedly wrong, for although there are early characteristics, such as the "prunts" or strawberries which decorate the hollow bulb containing the coin, and the early type of lip engraving, the stem itself clearly dates the glass some thirty or even forty years later than the period attributed to it by him. The coin in this glass is a threepence of Charles II, 1679. See Figure 31. Mr. Hartshorne himself had a similar specimen containing a sixpence of Charles II, and the fact that both these glasses contained coins of that King evidently misled even so prominent an expert.

That he was misled is proved by an almost similar glass to the first named, which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It contains a twopence of George II dated 1746, which is also approximately the date of both the glasses described by Mr. Hartshorne, and this coin was doubtless put into the glass as one of those Hanoverian counterblasts to Jacobite methods and customs, which the history of the glasses of the period so frequently displays in the "Liberty," "Williamite," and other examples which are foreign to our subject.

To return to the use of coins of Charles II, Mr. Hartshorne says:—

It is almost inconceivable that coins of Charles II would have been put into glasses out of respect to him after the time of William and Mary, nor was it likely that such long posthumous honours would be offered to him at the time of the '15 and '45, and one would rather have expected a coin of James II in a Jacobite glass of the eighteenth century, but no such example has come under the author's notice.

In his premises Mr. Hartshorne was right, but in his conclusion—as I shall hope to show—he was wrong, and this led him to date glasses containing coins of Charles II as "Not later than the time of William and Mary," though the glasses themselves should have prevented him falling into such an error. Hartshorne, however, was





FIG. 31.

COIN GLASS WITH THREEPENCE OF CHARLES II IN STEM.
(BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION.)



FIG. 32.

COIN GLASS WITH PENNY OF CHARLES II IN STEM.
(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

not a numismatist, and could not be expected to know how comparatively rare are the coins of James II, and how extremely numerous are those of his predecessor. Herein lay the explanation, and certainly the Carolean coins were not put into the glasses in honour of the King, then dead sixty years previously.



FIG. 33.

COIN GLASS WITH THREEPENCE OF JAMES II IN STEM.

(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

It must be remembered that only the coins of Charles and James would serve the purpose of the Jacobites in 1746, because they did not recognise the subsequent monarchs, and this alone would account for the frequent use of coins of Charles II. All those subsequent to the reign of James II would, of course, be excluded.

The first of my own two glasses is certainly early, for it has the baluster stem containing an elongated tear, the coin bulb is decorated with four strawberries or "prunts," and the coin is a silver penny of Charles II, dated 1681; therefore, but for the evidence of the Slade collection and Victoria and Albert specimens, I should have considered that, or a year or two later, to be the approximate date of the glass. On the evidence of those two specimens, however, I must conclude that the glass is quite thirty years later than the date of the coin, and I firmly believe it to be a Jacobite relic of the time of the '15, Figure 32.

Mr. Kirkby Mason has two very similar glasses containing coins of Charles II, one highly interesting in that it has a hammered penny of Simon's coinage in the stem.

My second glass may, I think, be considered to clinch the matter, because this glass cannot be earlier than 1746, and may be as late as 1750 from its stem and general characteristics. It also provides the example that had never come under Mr. Hartshorne's notice, and whilst in every respect, except in its opaque twist stem, it is like Mr. Hartshorne's own glass as to bowl, collars and foot, and the coin bulb is identical, it contains the "missing link" in a threepence of James II, dated 1686. Figure 33. Mr. Kirkby Mason has an earlier glass containing a Maundy groat of the same king, and these are the only two known glasses in which specimens of James II's coins are used.

Now it is quite impossible that these coins would be used to decorate glasses such as Figure 33, which was made at the very time when the Jacobite Movement was at its height, without set purpose; and I am convinced that all the glasses between 1715 and 1750 which contain Charles II's coins, as well as my own and Mr. Kirkby Mason's glasses enclosing James II's coins, are as definitely Jacobite as if they bore the portrait of Prince Charles himself, just as I feel equally certain that glasses containing coins of William III, George I, and George II, of the same period, are as much anti-Jacobite as are the glasses engraved "To the immortal memory of King William."





FIG. 34.—PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD IN 1748.

From a print by Wille, after L. Tocqué, with that date.

(GRANT R. FRANCIS COLLECTION.)

This is a rather long dissertation on relics of a bygone age, but whatever we may think of the cause, I am sorry for the heart that has no beat of sympathy for those gallant spirits who used these glasses in honour of a lost throne and an exiled Prince, of whom I add a final portrait from a remarkable engraving in colours by J. C. Wille, after a painting by L. Tocqué, both of which were executed in 1748, as is stated on the inscription beneath the print. Figure 34.

I cannot close this monograph better than by repeating the last verse of that old song of the Cycle Club, to which so many of the glasses we have been considering were doubtless filled and emptied :—

“ For the days we’ve misspent,
Let us truly repent,
And render to Cæsar his due ;
Here’s a health to the lad,
In his bonnet and plaid,
For the world cannot stain his True Blue.”



FIG. M.—SEAL OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.
ADAPTED FROM THE “ AMOR ET SPES ” MEDAL, FIG. L.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
SESSIONS 1921 AND 1922.

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 - 1905. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
 - 1906. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
 - 1907. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
 - 1908. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
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 - 1914. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
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 - 1916. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
 - 1917. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
 - 1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
 - 1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
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 - 1921. FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
-

The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by John Sanford Saltus, now Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

MEDALLISTS.

- 1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., D.L.
- 1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
- 1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
- 1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.
- 1920. Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.

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The British Numismatic Society.

PROCEEDINGS

1921.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, January 26th, 1921.

Mr. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The President explained that as Colonel Morrieson was unable to be present that evening the presentation of the John Sanford Saltus medal to him would be postponed until February 23rd.

Exhibitions and Notes.

By Mr. H. A. Parsons :—Henry I. Silver penny of the Canterbury mint, *Hawkins*, type 262, showing an annulet over the right shoulder. Mr. Parsons remarked that, with the exception of certain coins of Stamford, he knew of no other instance of the addition of a symbol upon this type. He also exhibited for comparison a penny of the same type and mint on which the symbol was absent.

U 2

By Miss H. Farquhar :—Charles II. An unrecorded oval badge bearing the same bust as *Medallic Illustrations*, Vol. I, p. 453, No. 38, but with a different reverse.

Obverse : Head of Charles II in profile to right, bare-headed, with hair long. No legend.

Reverse : The royal arms within the garter, crowned. Incuse.

By Mr. H. Garside :—A specimen of the bronze Memorial Plaque to those who fell in the Great War.

Papers.

A GROAT OF HENRY VIII.

Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton contributed a short paper upon a groat of the first coinage of Henry VIII which he had sent for inspection. *Obverse* : **HE**RRIC' • VIII' • DI' • GR' • REX • ANGL' • 2 • FR' of the usual type of the first coinage, but with mint-mark portcullis-crowned, struck over **τ**-crowned. *Reverse* : **POSVI**, etc., but with an ornamented trefoil within each of the forks which terminate the arms of the cross; mint-mark portcullis-crowned. He suggested that the dies were originally, that is, before the alteration of the obverse mint-mark, intended for the Tournai issue of English type, following the two earlier Tournai issues of French workmanship; but, being rejected in favour of the type actually struck, of which we have specimens, they were used for the ordinary English issue from the Tower mint, and the mint-mark on the obverse altered to the portcullis-crowned accordingly.

The paper is printed in this volume.

THE GOLDEN *SOLIDUS* OF HAMA.

Mr. Alfred Anscombe read a paper intituled "The Golden *solidus* of Hama, called *Rex Britanniae*." The piece in question was found at Harlingen in Friesland, and engraved as No. 58 under "Bracteates, etc.," in Stephens's *Runic Monuments*. It had always been regarded as a copy of an *aureus* of Theodosius the Great,

A.D. 379-395, but Mr. Anscombe construed certain imitation letters in the legend as FIL A, for *filius Arcadii*, and attributed it to Theodosius the Younger. The curious divergences of opinion, he said, respecting the figure of Hama on the reverse were exposed, and the light weight of the piece explained. The letters in the exergue were read as VG and he expanded them into *Vandogara*, which he identified as Bonchester in Roxburghshire. "This place-name need not be regarded as that of a mint town. It was much more likely to be the place at which Hama *Rex Britanniae* experienced the victory, the surprising and unexpected nature of which is indicated by the circumstances depicted on the reverse of Hama's *aureus*." The change in late Latin pronunciation from *v* to *b* was explained, and *Vinovium*, or Binchester, was proffered on the authority of the *Holy Grail* as the official residence of "Camaor seneschal of Orberique," or Binchester, in whom Mr. Anscombe recognised Hama. In the *Morte d'Arthur* he appeared as Duke Cambines, in a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* as Cham, King of the Bretons, A.D. 560; and, finally, subject to a very free correction of dates, he was claimed as the "Hama Rex Britanniae," of the title of the paper, stated in the *Historia Danica* of Saxo Grammaticus to have been father of Aella the ninth-century king of Northumbria. As King Arthur, said Mr. Anscombe, won a great victory over the Saxons at Cair Guiniuon, or Binchester, shortly before A.D. 470, the approximate date of Hama's *aureus* would be A.D. 465.

The runes composing the name, which was placed in the legend to the left of the reverse design, were explained, and the third, which was in dispute and had been read *d* by recent authorities, was asserted to be *m* for the reasons that the point of intersection of the crossbars was above the centre of the letter, and the crossbars did not make an angle at the base of each staff.

The Meeting, however, did not accept Mr. Anscombe's theories. In the discussion that followed, Mr. Andrew thought that any such person as "Hama *Rex Britanniae*" was an historic myth. The alleged "golden *solidus*" was neither coin nor medal but, like the

Scanomodu piece, the subject of Mr. Anscombe's previous and similar paper, it belonged to a numerous class of pendant ornaments worn as golden charms against sickness and evil. Any doubt as to this was set at rest by the fact that both ornaments still bore remains of the curious, but usual, barrel-shaped loop for their suspension from a cord round the neck. Both were copied from Roman coins, probably already rare in northern Europe, because of the cabalistic superstition attached to written characters of unknown meaning—a superstition that had survived almost to modern times. As such, they bore the Roman emperor's head on the obverse, and on the reverse an imitation of the then common design of the Roman emperor standing, holding a standard and the figure of Victory. In each case, in a position on the reverse where it would least spoil the picture, was the name in runes of the goldsmith who made the ornament. This, again, was certain, because other examples existed bearing the same reverse design, with the fuller runic inscription that so-and-so "made this for luck." Even the *fylfot*, the symbol of luck, was added to many; and one copied from a Byzantine *aureus* informed us in Latin that OTI ME FECIT. Similar imitation coins occurred as pendants to Anglo-Saxon necklaces of the seventh and eighth centuries.

Mr. H. A. Parsons was quite sure that the third rune ought to be read *d*, and not *m*. The upright staves projected equally above and below the crossbars, and the rare name Hama must give place to the then natural and common name Hada. Also, the ornament was found in Friesland, where the *d*-rune in use was exactly as shown upon it.

Finally, the President believed that the ornament was copied from an *aureus* of Theodosius the Great—not the Younger—and that the letters VG in the exergue, which Mr. Anscombe had expanded into *Vandogara*, were taken from a worn or imperfect impression of the exergual legend AVG OB on the Roman prototype.

ORDINARY MEETING,
THE FIRST MEETING AT 1, UPPER MONTAGUE STREET,
Wednesday, March 23rd, 1921.

Mr. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The Secretary having reported the result of his advertisements and negotiations for premises suitable for the Society's new home, the President, acting upon the advice of Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, who had inspected those offered, expressed the Members' appreciation of the courtesy of the Society of Medical Officers of Health in offering the use of the handsome suite of rooms in which the Meeting was held pending negotiations for a permanent arrangement, which he trusted would be satisfactory to both Societies.

The President then presented to Colonel Morrieson the John Sanford Saltus gold medal which had been awarded to him by the triennial ballot of the Members at the Anniversary Meeting, saying :—

Colonel Morrieson,

At the Annual Meeting of the British Numismatic Society last St. Andrew's Day, the triennial ballot, open to all the Members, was held for the award of the John Sanford Saltus gold medal.

It gave pleasure to us all, I feel sure, to find that it had been voted to you, and I had hoped to have the pleasing duty of presenting the medal to you in the usual course at our following Meeting in January. You were, however, prevented from being present on that occasion, and, as we all know, the Meeting for February had to be abandoned owing to the change in the Society's address.

I have now the great pleasure of presenting you with the medal in the names of Mr. John Sanford Saltus and of the Society, and of expressing to you my own personal gratification that, owing to my position, this agreeable duty falls upon me.

In presenting the medal, it is, I think, desirable to recall the fact that it is awarded in recognition of papers read before the Society, and published in *The British Numismatic Journal*, and if we look through the past volumes we shall find how great and how valuable is the work that you have contributed.

Your special interest in and study of the coinage of the Tudor and Stuart periods has resulted in contributions of an exhaustive nature, which have greatly added to our knowledge of the coinage of certain reigns, more particularly from Henry VIII to Charles I, which will be lasting records of your devotion to British numismatic science.

I may, perhaps, express the additional pleasure it gives us that it should happen that in you the medal is awarded to one who has filled the position of President of the Society for the full period that is possible under the rules, with a tact and geniality that has earned the esteem and gratitude of us all during a very difficult period.

Colonel Morrieson, in reply, expressed his thanks to the President for the words he had said, and his sincere appreciation of the honour accorded to him by the Members.

The Secretary reported the following generous offers from Members :—

By Mr. Frank E. Burton, in support of the Editor's scheme printed in the Council's Report of November 30th last to avoid the necessity for increasing the subscriptions, ten guineas.

By Miss H. Farquhar, towards the expenses of the Society's removal to its new home, ten pounds.

By Mr. H. A. Bennie Gray, including the purchase of a set of past volumes of the *Journal*, ten pounds.

By Mr. F. Willson Yeates, an invitation to the Society to hold the present Meeting at his house.

A vote of grateful thanks, moved from the Chair, was passed to each of these Members.

Mr. T. G. Barnett and Mr. G. H. Stafford were elected Members.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. H. A. Parsons:—A series of late Anglo-Saxon coins in unusually good preservation to illustrate the sequence of types described in his paper.

By Mr. William C. Wells:—Early British quarter stater, *Evans*, plate C, No. 14, found at Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire. Henry I. Three pennies of *Hawkins*, Type 262; obverse, **†HENRICVS · REX**; reverse, **†LEFTEIN : ON · ∴ · STAN :**, Stamford, an annulet upon the left shoulder. Obverse, **†HENRICVS :**, reverse from the same die as the preceding coin. Obverse similar, reverse **†GODPINE : ON : TE[TF]**. Thetford.

By Mr. G. R. Francis:—Eadgar. A penny of *British Museum Catalogue* type I, but with obverse legend **†EADGAR · REX B**; reverse, **ICEN · | C MÖN**.

By the President:—Henry VIII. Groat of the second coinage, mint-mark, rose: of fine work and unusual portrait; the legends on both sides of transitional Renaissance character; reverse, cross with floriated ends. He explained that examples were known bearing one side or the other of this variety, but he was not aware of any other coin combining both. Groat of similar character as to portrait and other affinities, but with ordinary Lombardic lettering, the **α** of the king's name being the **Đ** of the previous coin. The ordinary example for comparison.

Paper.

HOARDS OF LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINS.

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons read a paper entitled "Remarks on Hoards of Late Anglo-Saxon Coins," in which he considered the points of value of the evidence afforded by finds of coins of the period; at the same time exposing the fallacy of dealing with such evidence

on hitherto accepted lines. Remarking upon the few hoards of the time in which the number of coins of each type were recorded, the lecturer was able to show, from a chart of such hoards, that a marked line of cleavage in the coinage existed at the time of the last issue of Eadgar, which indicated a change in the legal tender. Advancing to a more detailed consideration of the finds, he urged that the evidence of hoards which had been deposited in the Scandinavian countries must be treated on different lines from that afforded by the coins discovered in the British Islands, for the Danegelt payments had an important bearing on the deductions which could justly be made from the evidence of any of the finds, whether in this country or abroad, since these large payments must have materially affected the output of some of the types.

The lecturer was able to add to, or qualify, many of the conclusions arrived at by previous writers on the hoards discussed, and adverted to certain unusual features of the last find, that at Chester in 1914, which merited special treatment.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING

Wednesday, April 27th, 1921.

MR. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.

President, in the Chair.

The Secretary having reported the result of his interviews and correspondence with Mr. George S. Elliston and Mr. Parsons, as Librarian, having explained his proposed adaptation of the third room for the purposes of the Society's library, it was unanimously resolved that the terms arranged with the Society of Medical Officers of Health for the use of the suite of rooms at No. 1, Upper Montague Street be approved.

The President remarked that the Members would appreciate the courtesy shown to the Society by the Medical Officers of Health and their Secretary, Mr. G. S. Elliston, throughout these pleasant negotiations.

The Secretary reported the following further gifts to the Society :—

By Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler, the rent of the room to be used as the Library.

By Major William J. Freer, £10 towards the cost of the new bookcases now required.

By Dr. R. T. Cassal, of Abertillery, Bankers' order trebling his subscription from January 1st last, and in future.

A vote of grateful thanks, moved from the Chair, was accorded to each of these generous Members.

Exhibitions.

The Chester Mint.

By Mr. Willoughby Gardner :—The collection of coins of the Chester mint referred to under the synopsis of his paper.

By Miss Helen Farquhar :—Edward the Confessor. Penny, *Hawkins* 227, obverse, +EADPAR | D RE, reverse +EDHSIG ON LEIGE. Charles I. Halfcrown; mint-mark three garbs, the arms of Chester, and CHST below the horse; *Ruding*, xxvi, 2.

General.

By the President :—Two stycas of the series attributed by Mr. H. A. Parsons¹ to Æthelred I of Northumbria, one reading +EILRED RE, with reverse +EADVINI as figure 7; the other +EDELRED E nearly as figure 6, with reverse as figures 4 and 5. In the legends several of the letters are, as usual, reversed or inverted.

¹ Volume x, pp. 1-8, of the *Journal*.

By Mr. E. H. Wheeler :—Pennies of Eadgar towards elucidation of the question raised by Mr. Francis as to the meaning of the letter **B** in the title of the coin reading **+EADGAR·REX B** exhibited by him at the last Meeting. The references are to the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii.

+EADGAR' REX C	+FÆSTOLFS MONE	III, Series B.
Pellet in the field.		
+EADGÆR' REX G	+FA·STOLF· BOIGA	„ „ „
+EADGAR REX· I	∇PIFE RÐ MO	I, „ „
Pellet in each angle of the initial cross.		
+EADGAR REX N	+FASTOL·F + MON	III, „ „
+EADGAR: REX !	+FA·STOLF: RAFN	„ „ „
+EADGAR RE: C	·DVRA ND M̄O	I, „ „
+EADGÆR :· REX TOB	+DVRAND·ES. MO TPI	III

The TPI=Twynham, now Christchurch.

By Mr. A. C. Crane :—Medal by Minton to Thomas Graham, 1805–1869, the last Master of the Mint before the office was merged in that of the Chancellors of the Exchequer.

By Mr. Henry Garside :—

Trial pieces struck in copper from the dies used for the bronze coinage of a halfpenny dated 1861, with the initials, incuse, of Leonard Charles Wyon on the reverse, and a farthing dated 1860.

British Honduras. The series dated 1919 of 50-, 25- and 10 cents in silver, 5 cents in copper-nickel and the cent in bronze.

Paper.

THE MINT OF CHESTER.

Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.S.A., read the first half of his treatise on the Mint of Chester—one of the most interesting papers ever contributed to the Society. He reviewed the story of the city from its foundation, and explained the causes which led to the similarity

and consequent confusion of its name with that of Leicester—a confusion not confined to numismatists of the nineteenth century, but prevalent with our mediæval chroniclers. In this relation, where the name of the mint was absent from the coins, or insufficient to distinguish it from that of Leicester, he had resorted to the moneyers' names and to local characteristics in spelling as factors for the attribution and division of not only the doubtful readings, but also of many as to which no attempt at location had hitherto been made. Historically, he demurred to the late Professor Freeman's belief that early Chester lay for centuries desolate in its ruins, and, numismatically, his explanation of the penny attributed by Major Carlyon-Britton¹ to the Welsh king, Howel Dda, 913–948, which bore the name of the Chester moneyer *Gillys*, threw more light upon that remarkable coin. But it was as impossible to do justice to the paper in these rationed lines as it was for the Members present to examine and adequately appreciate in the time at their disposal the three hundred, and more, carefully selected coins from his collection, which represented almost a complete series of the money issued from the mint at Chester from the reign of Athelstan, A.D. 925–941, to the reformation of the coinage by William of Orange in 1696. But the paper, when completed, will be printed in the *Journal*, and as many of the coins illustrated as is possible.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, May 25th, 1921.

MR. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. Nevin was elected a Member.

Mr. H. A. Parsons, as Librarian, reported the completion of his removal of the Society's books and effects to the new library,

¹ Volume ii, pp. 31–41, of the *Journal*.

which had the advantage of being with the other rooms upon the ground floor.

The President congratulated him upon the expedition and success of his arrangements and moved a vote of thanks to him, which was accorded.

Donations.

The Secretary reported that Miss H. Farquhar had offered to contribute £6 11s., the balance of the cost of the new bookcases.

In moving a vote of thanks to Admiral The Marquess of Milford Haven, an Hon. Member of the Society, for the presentation to the Library of his work *British Naval Medals*, the Librarian referred to it as one of the most valuable and important books yet published on medallic history and art.

The thanks of the Society were accorded to these two donors.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. Shirley-Fox :—The series of coins referred to in his paper.

By Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler :—Edward I. Three varieties of the groat. 1. Tressure of double lines ; trefoil of pellets below the bust. 2. Tressure of treble lines ; quatrefoil of pellets upon the breast. 3. Tressure of treble lines ; rosette as brooch to the collar of the mantle, which resembles a ring around the neck. All in brilliant condition.

By the President :—Henry VI, issued during the six months of his restoration, October, 1470, to April, 1471. Halfpenny of the Bristol mint ; obverse, **✠ HENRICVS DI GRA REX**, reverse, **VILLIT BRISTOV**, weight $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains. He explained that he was aware of one other example of this coin, and it was presented to the British Museum a few years ago.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—City of London broker's medal, engraved, bearing the name, Richard Buller, 1708.

By Mr. Henry Garside :—

Trial piece in copper from the reverse die, by J. B. Merlen, for the half-crown of George IV. Coins bearing this reverse are dated 1825, 1826, 1828, and 1829.

British Guiana fourpence, 1917. This type of groat was formerly issued for general circulation in that country and the West Indies, but now for British Guiana only.

"Mule" struck from the reverse dies for the St. Helena halfpenny of 1821 and the Guernsey four doubles of 1830.

Paper.

EDWARD I, II, AND III.

Continuing "The Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I, II, and III," Mr. Shirley-Fox, R.B.A., after calling attention to the marked alteration in style of the pennies of the so-called "florin type," issued in 1344-5, from any of their predecessors, and the probability that a similar change would be found in the halfpennies of the same period, went on to describe those which, in his opinion, were struck between the years 1344 and 1351, in which latter year the weight of the penny was reduced from 20 to 18 grains. He divided the coins into two main groups, each subdivided into four varieties. Class I, *a*, **EDWARDVS REX** without stops. *b*, The same inscription but with double pellet stops after Edwardus. *c*, The same but with double saltire stops. *d*, The same stops and legend, but of much coarser work. Class II, *a*, **EDWARDVS REX** **πϛ**, different crown and bust. The position of this coin as first in its series was established by a "mule" coin with a reverse of the previous class. *b*, The same inscription but with a rounder face and different crown, similar to that found on the later second nobles. *c*, The same coin but with pellet stops and a small pellet on each side of the crown. *d*, With a small saltire on each side of the crown instead of a pellet. He supported his classification by calling attention to certain resemblances of the crown, initial cross, and lettering to those of the gold coins of the same period, of which the order of issue was well established.

Mr. Shirley-Fox illustrated his lecture throughout with drawings on the blackboard, and exhibited the series of coins he described. He also showed the following sequence of coins, all related to each

other by the presence of a curiously formed letter I of which the lower right serif had apparently been intentionally cut through. 1, A half-groat of Edward III, period 1369-77, with a reverse of late Richard II style. 2, A remarkable late half-groat of Richard II, reading **RICARDVS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE**, from a die in which the king's crown had been punched in with an iron of the size used for the groats. 3, A heavy half-groat of Henry IV. 4, A half noble of Richard II, and, 5, A quarter noble of Richard II.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, June 22nd, 1921.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Secretary explained the unavoidable absence of the President, and that the Council had requested Colonel Morrieson, as one of the Vice-Presidents, to preside.

Lieut.-Commander Norman D. Holbrook, V.C., R.N., Mr. T. Hattori, and Mr. Philip Ziegler were elected Members.

The Chairman read the list of Officers and Council nominated by the Council for next session.

Mr. H. A. Parsons, as Hon. Librarian, reported that Mr. Ernest Wheeler had offered to defray the cost of the decoration of the room used as the Society's Library. The offer was accepted and a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Wheeler for his generosity.

Presentations.

Medal in bronze to commemorate the dedication of the Manor House of the Washingtons at Sulgrave on the 21st of this month as a memorial of a century of peace and friendship with America; by Mr. William C. Wells, its issuer, whose notes upon it are given later. The art of the medal, which

depicts the old house, was admired and a vote of thanks passed to Mr. Wells ; also to the following donors :

To the Library.—*The Numismatic Circular*, bound, for 1920 ; by Messrs. Spink and Son, Ltd.

The Mexican Revolutionary Coinage, 1913-16, Howland Wood ; and *The Jenny Lind Medals and Tokens*, L. Westervelt ; by the American Numismatic Society.

Washingtons of Sulgrave and Brington, William C. Wells ; by the Author.

Exhibitions.

THE ANNUAL MEDALLIC EVENING.

The series of British medals issued for the Great War was exhibited and, with the exception of the Memorial Plaque, met with general disapproval.

Major W. J. Freer :—Victoria Cross, 20th September, 1854, and the 19th April, 1855, of Sergeant J. Park, Seventy-seventh Regiment.

New Zealand Medal, undated, and Indian Mutiny Medal, without bar, of Captain George Garland, Forty-third Foot ; also South African Medal, 1878, of Civil Surgeon G. H. Garland, A.M.D.

Mr. Alfred C. Montagu :—Victoria Cross and other medals, Crimea and Mutiny, of Quartermaster C. Woodan.

Mr. Thomas K. MacKenzie :—Badge of a King's Messenger, about 1770, with original ribbon and shagreen case.

The beautiful jewel or badge of the Loyal Association "founded in 1745," which was illustrated and described in Volume VII, pages 394-96 of the Society's *Journal*.¹

Miss H. Farquhar :—Seventeen medals and reckoning counters of the seventeenth century, including portraits of Sir Robert Heath and Sir Richard Brown, Sir Sidenham Pointz,

¹ We should be glad to receive any further information on this subject.—EDITOR.

Sir Charles Erskine, the Earl of Essex, and Baron de Reede, by Rawlins and Abraham and Thomas Simon ; also three unidentified. Three official counters of the Lord High Treasurers, Buckhurst, Juxon, and Traquair ; and four probably intended for the private use of Lord Burghley, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Edward Coke, and "T. Nichols, 1638," whose arms they bear.

Mr. Grant R. Francis :—Medal of Napoleon in bronze, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, by Andrieu ; the design being that of the Emperor's last coinage.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden :—

Simon's medal, PAX QVÆRITVR BELLO, of Oliver Cromwell, in original shagreen case.

Silver badge of the "King's boys," Christ's Hospital, London.

Mr. S. M. Spink :—

The Order of St. Andrew of Russia, described later.

Medals illustrative of the service of the Second Battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders—the Seventy-eighth Highlanders :—

Army of India, three bars, Assaye, Argaum, Gawilghur—E. McQueen. A series of bars only awarded to 22 men of the Regiment.

Military General Service, one bar, Maida—D. McIver.

Military General Service, one bar, Java—Sergeant D. Fraser.

Indian Mutiny, one bar, Defence of Lucknow—J. Wallace.

Indian Mutiny, two bars, Relief of Lucknow, Lucknow—W. Mercer.

India General Service, one bar, Persia—J. Robertson.

Afghanistan 1877-79, no bar—C. Crowley.

Officer's bonnet-badge, 1850-81.

Mr. C. Winter read some notes upon the history of the Seaforth Highlanders, explaining the issue of the preceding medals.

Mr. E. E. Needes : Group of medals and orders of General Sir Richard Llewellyn, K.C.B., Colonel-in-Chief of the 39th Regiment, who served in the 28th Regiment of Foot in the Peninsular War, and was promoted to Lieut.-Colonel and made Commander of the Bath for gallantry at Waterloo.

Badge and Star, K.C.B. Also the C.B. in miniature.

Military General Service Medal and clasps, Busaco and Albuhera.

Waterloo. Also in miniature.

Miniature portrait on ivory.

Panel of medals representing the service of the Fourteenth Regiment of Foot from Corunna, 1809, to Afghanistan, 1880.

Silver snuff-box presented to Captain Beardsley of the Fifty-first Light Infantry by his brother officers in 1820.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher : London brokers' medals, James Brace and Joshua Leigh Setcole, of the first half of the eighteenth century.

Papers.

THE ORDER OF ST. ANDREW OF RUSSIA.

This decoration, exhibited by Mr. S. M. Spink, was of unusually brilliant and valuable character, even for Russia. The collar was composed of links representing the Russian eagle, trophies of arms, and the cross of St. Andrew of Russia radiated ; whilst the badge was in the form of the eagle, and bore the effigy of St. Andrew in martyrdom. Describing it, Mr. Winter said :—

The Order of St. Andrew was instituted by Peter the Great on the 20th of December, 1693, and is named after the Patron Saint of Russia. The particular collar with its badge before us was presented by the Emperor Paul I, who ascended the throne in 1796 and was assassinated in 1801. The peculiar form of the eagle represented is known as the " Paul Eagle " after him, and is similar to that which

X 2

used to be worn by the Russian Guards. This I have verified by comparison with a photograph of one of their helmets.

The Order was the highest in the late Empire, and entitled the recipient to wear the additional Orders of St. Anne, Alexander Newsky, and St. Stanislaus; and an officer of the Russian Guards, now a refugee in this country, tells me that he believes that only three Russian Members of the Order survive, and, in the hands of the Bolsheviki, they are in such straitened circumstances that they are slowly dying of starvation.

THE WASHINGTON MANOR HOUSE OF SULGRAVE.

With his medal Mr. William C. Wells contributed the following notes :—

Lawrence Washington settled in Northampton in the reign of Henry VIII, and soon became a prominent burgess, being elected mayor in 1532 and again in 1545. On the dissolution of the monasteries he obtained a grant from Henry VIII of the Manor of Sulgrave, which had been alienated from the Priory of St. Andrew at Northampton. He died in 1584 and was succeeded by his son Robert, who, with the consent of his eldest son, Lawrence, sold the manor in 1610.

A younger son of the last-named Lawrence was the Rev. Lawrence Washington, Rector of Purleigh, Essex, from 1633 to 1643, whose eldest son, John, emigrated to Virginia in 1657, and was the great-grandfather of George Washington, first President of the United States of America.

The present Manor House at Sulgrave—that reproduced upon the medal—is but a small portion of the original structure, the building of which was commenced by the first Lawrence shortly before his death in 1584. But it is of special interest because in the spandrils of the doorway are the Washington arms, now so well known as “ the stars and stripes ” of the American national flag.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, October 26th, 1921.

Mr. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The President referred in feeling terms to the death of Admiral of the Fleet the Marquess of Milford Haven, who had been an Honorary Member of the Society since 1912. He was an expert on Naval medals and contributed "Medallic Illustrations of Naval History" to Volume XIII of the *Journal*. He had arranged with the Secretary to again address the Members in the near future, and had presented copies of his great work on British Naval medals and Part I of his *Foreign Naval Medals* to the Library. A vote of condolence was then passed, all present standing in silence.

The President announced that Mr. John Sanford Saltus, of New York, Officier de la Légion d'honneur, and a Vice-President, to whom the Society already owed much of its sound financial position to-day, had made a further donation to its funds of £107 in English money. A grateful vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Saltus for this welcome proof of his continued generosity and support.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin and Mr. W. Beresford Smith were reappointed Auditors for the year.

Presentations.

By the Argentine Minister: The large centennial medal in bronze of the birth of General Bartolmé Mitre, Argentine statesman, historian, publicist, and President of the Republic. The artistic effect of the medal was admired, and a vote of thanks was passed to the Donor.

To the Library.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson: *The Town Council Seals of Scotland*, by Alexander Porteous.

By Mr. W. B. Thorpe: Volumes I and II of the *Journal*, the Society being in need of copies of these two early volumes to enable it to complete sets for new Members.

A vote of thanks was accorded to these two Donors.

Exhibitions.

In illustration of Mr. Andrew's paper.

By Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler:—Stephen, the coin reading **✠SMEPINE : ON : LVND** first described in the paper. Matilda, Hawkins 634, **: MATILDI : I[MP :]**; reverse, **✠SVET[IN]G : ON : OX :** Oxford; in exceptionally perfect condition. Henry II, Hawkins 285, three pennies of York and Newcastle, selected for their state of preservation and because one of the former bears annulets upon the crown and on the King's shoulder.

By the President:—Stephen, the penny from the late Lord Peckover's Collection reading **✠LIEFRED : ON · LVND**, of the type attributed to the Abbot of Reading in the paper. It was found in the river Witham.

By Mr. S. M. Spink.—A similar coin from the Rashleigh Collection; the penny of David I of Scotland, struck at Carlisle, also described in the paper; and two examples of different workmanship of the usual type, bearing Stephen's name, from the same mint for comparison.

By Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton:—The remarkable penny, of which no other example is known, attributed to the Abbot of St. Edmund's in the paper.

By Mr. W. C. Wells:—The coin of Hawkins 276, of Northampton **✠STIEFNE :** reverse, **PAEN : ON : NORH :**; two of 270, **✠PAEN : ON : NORBAN :** and a contemporary imitation of the same. Also coins of Ethelred II and Canute of the Stamford Mint, proving alterations to dies by examples struck both before and after the addition of a pellet to them.

Other Exhibits.

By Mr. V. J. E. Ryan:—Eadwig, penny, +EADPI REX; reverse, +LOPMAN, British Museum Catalogue, type III. Henry VIII, the George half-noble. Philip and Mary, angel with beaded inner circles, reading, **REX Z REGINA MR.**

By Mr. S. M. Spink:—An Exeter half-crown of Charles I as a choice example in perfect condition.

By the Rev. Edgar Rogers:—A pattern by Droz from the Soho mint, and a modern impression from the die after it had been altered.

Papers.

CROWNS OF JAMES I WITH MINT-MARK ROSE.

Mr. Grant R. Francis read a short paper upon the crowns with this mint-mark, which, he said, had always been attributed to the year 1605. Although all the other denominations in silver had been assigned also to the year 1620, when the rose was reintroduced, it had not been possible to produce a crown which could be proved to belong to the later series. Now, however, he was able to exhibit, from the collection of Mr. W. B. Thorpe, a crown which must have been issued in 1620, because it was from the same dies as a crown with the mint-mark thistle of 1621, and in the latter case the thistle was struck over the rose. The rose was larger than that of 1605 and seeded, which rendered it possible to differentiate the two.

The paper is printed in this volume.

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

Continuing this history, Mr. Andrew first exhibited drawings of two coins of the Empress Matilda which had hitherto escaped attention. One was of a penny found by General Pitt-Rivers "inside the citadel" during his excavations at Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, in 1878, but assumed to be an ordinary coin of Stephen. It was, however, from the same dies as the very clear example of the Oxford mint exhibited and described by Mr. Wheeler. Unfortunately, the

coin seemed to be now lost. The other drawing he had made in 1898 of a well-preserved coin of the Bristol mint in the Bodleian Collection, reading : **MATILDI** [IMP :]; reverse, [**†TVRC**] **BIL DE : BRIS**.

Turning to the events that immediately followed Stephen's snatched coronation on December 26th, 1135, he instanced the five curious coins, reading **†STEFANVS R**, with reverses **†SMEPINE : ON : LVND** and **†LIEFRED : ON : LVND**. They were from the same obverse die, which was as nearly true to Stephen's first type as could be attained by altering a die of the last coinage of Henry I. They bore the elaborately arched crown of Henry's money; and the Smewine coin, exhibited by Mr. Wheeler, being very clearly struck, showed signs of actual alteration in both legend and design. This fact, coupled with the ecclesiastical annulets upon them, suggested a hurried issue by the two London moneyers, working in relays with one obverse die, to meet the great demand for money at Reading Abbey, where the nobility of England were to meet on February the 6th for the state funeral of King Henry. The Abbot of Reading had under his charter a right to one moneyer only in London, but it would be part of Stephen's propaganda that money bearing his name and title—so doubtful as the latter was—should be spread broadcast through the land, and especially to the great gathering at Reading.

The same thing happened at the same time at the sister Abbey of St. Edmund's, for Stephen was in fact the nominee of the Church. The coin exhibited by Major Carlyon-Britton bore the same crown and also showed signs of alteration. It read **†STIFNE REX**, reverse, **†GILLEBERT : ON SA**, with a pellet upon each arm of the cross and at the base of each fleur.

Yet a third coin, kindly exhibited by Mr. Spink, was from an altered obverse die, or a die made from punches for King Henry's last issue at this period, but its reverse was of that type also. It read **†DAVIT R** on the obverse, and **†EREBALD : ON : CAR** on the reverse, and Mr. Andrew gave historical and numismatic reasons for believing that the coin marked the seizure of Carlisle by King David of Scotland in the same February of 1136.

These three incidents, he urged, apart from other reasons, quite ruled out the suggestion that Hawkins type 259 was a new coinage by Henry I just being issued at the time of his death.

ORDINARY AND ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS.

Wednesday, November 30th, 1921.

MR. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

THE ORDINARY MEETING.

Miss Willmott, Dr. C. H. Abbott, the Department of Agriculture, Dublin, Mr. Edward J. French, Mr. Walter E. Grundy, Mr. P. Lonergan, the Library of the University of Michigan, Mr. Alfred C. Montagu, and Mr. Ivo Pakenham were elected to membership.

Mr. Andrew, as Editor, reported that Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler had again presented £100 to the Society towards the contemplated restoration of the *Journal* to its pre-war size and condition. A special vote of thanks, moved from the Chair, was accorded to Mr. Wheeler for this most generous and opportune gift.

THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The President read a cablegram from Mr. Saltus, at New York, regretting that he could not be present, and wishing the Society a successful year.

He welcomed the presence at the Meeting of Mr. Edward T. Newell, of New York, not only as a Life Member of the Society, but especially as the representative of the American Numismatic Society upon this occasion when Mr. Saltus was nominated as President for the forthcoming year.

Also, he said that it was a pleasure to notice amongst the Members present a representative of Australian numismatics in Mr. Triggs.

Presentation to the Library.

Norges Mynter i Middelalderen, by C. I. Schive, presented by the Cabinet of Coins of the University of Christiania, through the Director, Dr. A. Fonahn, to whom a vote of thanks was passed.

Exhibitions.

By the President :—The penny of the Empress Matilda, from the Roth Collection, illustrated, plate LXI, 4, in the *British Museum Catalogue of Norman Coins*.

By Mr. A. H. Baldwin :—The penny of the Empress Matilda described in Mr. Andrew's paper ; and, for comparison, a penny of the last coinage of Henry I, Hawkins, 255, reading :—obverse, ✠ **HENRICVS** ; reverse, ✠ **RODBERT : ON : GLOE** : the **O** in the mint-name of Gloucester being punched over original **V**.

From Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, also for comparison :—The penny, obverse, ✠ **HENRICVS** of Hawkins 259, with reverse of 255 ✠ **ROBERT : ON : GLOE** : Gloucester, the subject of a paper by Mr. Andrew in volume XIV, p. 227.

From Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton :—Henry VI. London groat ; obverse, leaf-and-pellet coinage of Class V, muled, with reverse, cross-pellet coinage, mullet after **POSVI**, Class VI.

Henry VI of the Calais mint. Groat ; obverse, pine-cone-masle coinage, Class III, muled with reverse, mint-mark cross-crosslet, no marks, Class IV. Half-groat of the annulet coinage with an extra pellet in the group of pellets in the fourth quarter of the reverse. Half-groat of the annulet coinage with annulet after **POSVI**, but no annulets in the centres of the groups of pellets on the reverse.

Henry VII. A farthing which, with the exception of that in Colonel Morrieson's collection, he believed to be the only example of the reign now known.

By Mr. Edgar M. Burnett, of Southampton:—The *cliché* portrait in silver of Charles II, by John Roettiers, the subject of Miss H. Farquhar's paper.

By Miss Helen Farquhar, in illustration of her paper on Mr. Burnett's *cliché*:—A series of *cliché* portraits in silver of the Stuarts. Charles I; three of James II; Mary; two of William III; Anne. Also two tobacco boxes with *cliché* and horn portraits of Charles I; and plaster casts of several medals lent to her for comparison.

A thin silver piece, struck, representing William III, and commemorating the Peace of Ryswick, 1697; probably by James Roettiers.

From Mr. T. W. Barron, of Burnham, Somerset. The medallion portrait in silver of Charles II, illustrated in volume II, p. 489, of the *Journal*. Miss Farquhar explained that this medallion, which is a little larger than its illustration, existed in silver, illustrated, volume VI, p. 281; in lead in the British Museum; and in bronze in the Hunter Collection.

Papers.

A CLICHÉ PORTRAIT IN SILVER OF CHARLES II.

Miss Helen Farquhar, in a paper which is now printed in this volume, said that the beautiful *cliché*, or "shell," portrait of Charles II exhibited by Mr. Edgar M. Burnett was struck in thin silver, and had hitherto been known only in the form of a cast and chased plaque of more solid character. In volume VI of the *Journal*, p. 280, she had remarked that "it was a pity the chain of royal *clichés* is broken by the absence of any large specimen known to us representing Charles II"; but now the series of medallions struck in thin silver foil, to which she had so often referred in our volumes

as the work of different members of the Roettiers family, was complete. Speaking on Mr. Burnett's exhibit, Miss Farquhar suggested that such thin silver shells were struck from dies, specially made for the purpose of producing portraits for presentation at small expense, for all the more solid specimens in hard metal were cast and chased. The film of silver would be placed upon the die backed by a thin sheet of lead, or by a "force" already taken from the die in soft metal. The screw being then gently turned, the unhardened die would remain uninjured and still be susceptible of alteration after the *cliché* had been impressed. A solid lead specimen in the British Museum had probably been used in the first of the two methods of "backing" suggested, for it was just so much smaller than the silver shell as would result from the interposition of the foil between it and the die.

Miss Farquhar then called attention to the consequent variations between the *cliché* and the medallion portrait, cast in solid silver, which Mr. T. W. Barron had most kindly sent to her for comparison; and illustrated the rest of the sequence of the silver shell series from her own collection.

Mr. J. H. Pinches, who, Miss Farquhar said, had most kindly given his expert attention to her theory, explained the process of taking the impressions and altering the dies in detail, and was in agreement with her explanation; especially as it was probable that only a small number of impressions was required, and thus the hardening of the die, which in those days involved much greater risk of failure, might have been shirked.

MEDALLIC MEMORIALS OF DR. JOHNSON.

Professor F. P. Barnard, F.S.A., contributed a short paper upon the medallic memorials of Dr. Johnson, of which, he said, it was surprising that only four should exist. These were the three late eighteenth-century tokens, and the nineteenth-century medal, namely :—

- i. The Birmingham halfpenny by Benjamin Patrick. Obverse, bust of Johnson to right; DR SAMUEL JOHNSON; reverse,

three lions rampant, PROMISSORY · HALFPENNY · PAYABLE · AT · BIRMINGHAM W · HAMPTON OR LITCHFIELD. Also struck in brass as a medalet only, and originally it bore the address of its issuer, Henry Biggs of Moor Street, on the edge.

The three lions on the reverse were possibly appropriated from the arms of Ford, the maiden-name of Johnson's mother.

2. The Lichfield halfpenny by Thomas Wyon. Obverse, bust of Johnson to left; DR SAM^L IOHNSON; reverse, a laurel wreath, LITCHFIELD TOKEN, MDCCXCVI. Also struck in brass as a medalet only.

The obverse was used again muled with a Middlesex reverse, dated 1797, but mules, such as this, were often made for foolish or credulous collectors, and were not true variants.

Boswell, in his *Life of Johnson*, p. 422, referred to the above tokens when he wrote: "Let me add as a proof of the popularity of his character, that there are copper pieces struck at Birmingham, with his head impressed on them, which pass current as halfpence there, and in the neighbouring parts of the country."

3. The Birmingham farthing by John Westwood, Senior. Obverse, bust of Johnson to right; DR SAMUEL IOHNSON; reverse three lions rampant, PROMISSORY HALFHALFPENNY PAYABLE AT—but edge milled instead of being inscribed with the towns as on No. 1.
4. Durand's medal, but graved by Thomas, or Charles, Smith. Obverse, bust of Johnson to left, SAMUEL JOHNSON, signed SMITH F.; reverse, in ten lines NATUS | LISCHFELDIAE | IN STAFFORDIA | AN. M.DCC.IX. | OBIIT | AN. M.DCC.LXXXIV. | SERIES NUMISMATICA | UNIVERSALIS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM | M.DCCC.XXIV. | DURAND EDIDIT.

Mr. J. H. Pinches thought that Professor Barnard might add to his list the medal by J. S. Wyon, issued by the Art Union

of London in 1864, for although its obverse bore the head, to the right, of " J. Bacon, R.A. 1740-1799," its reverse was inscribed " Samuel Johnson " and the design represented his statue, which Mr. Pinches believed was that in Lichfield Cathedral. The medal was of bronze, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter.

SOME NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF THE EMPRESS MATILDA.¹

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., said that it was now more than seventy years since the late Sir John Evans first attributed coins to the Empress Maud. They were two silver pennies from the Dartford hoard of 1825, and struck from the same pair of dies, which were of the ordinary type of Stephen's first coinage, except in their legends. Sir John Evans read them as, obverse : **IMPERATR :** for *Imperatrix* : and reverse, **†TVREBIL • DE • BRIST**, Bristol.

Improbable as was the mere title of empress without any name, for the obverse legend of an English coin, that reading was accepted in 1850, and had been adopted and followed by every writer on English numismatics from that day to this. Yet it was wrong, and therefore he was not surprised that the sister legend **†PERERICM :** should also have remained unread.

Stephen was the son of the Conqueror's daughter, and although his claim to the throne was not strictly hereditary, for his elder brother, Theobald, Count of Blois, was alive, he had been duly elected and crowned king according to the custom of England. This fact he was careful to recite in the title he used in his early charter at Oxford, but later, and upon his coinage, it was all sufficient to claim that he was *Stephanus Rex*, or *Stephanus Rex Anglorum*, variously contracted, often on his charters to the initial S alone for the name, for contractions and symbols were the custom of the literature of the day.

¹ As the paper was too long to read in full at the Meeting, and the subject attracting so much attention at the moment, I have specially asked that the Notes be reported in this extended form.—Grant R. Francis, *Acting President*.

On the other hand Matilda, as the daughter of the Conqueror's son, had a threefold claim to the crown. Firstly, under the oath of allegiance taken by all the chief men of the kingdom to her in her father's lifetime as his successor. Secondly, as the sole heir of the body of the last king in possession, Henry I. Thirdly, as direct heir general of the Conqueror. But the Salic law was her difficulty, and it was finally to bar her out, even when her son, Henry II, claiming through her, succeeded Stephen, although she survived that event for twelve years.

Stephen had vied with her illegitimate brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, for precedence as second of the laity to take the oath of allegiance to Matilda, and that was his trouble throughout. To meet it on his accession, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, had argued that as the oath was taken to Matilda on January 1st, 1127, when she was Empress as the widow of Henry V, and a femme-sole, it was rendered void by her marriage with Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, who, as her husband, could claim the throne in her right.

In this last argument, perhaps, lay the true reason for the stress always laid by Matilda, and her party, upon her title *Imperatrix*, both in her charters and upon her money. But it was usefully distinctive, for Stephen's Queen was also named Matilda.

Mr. Andrew believed that it was not until the Earl of Chester applied to his father-in-law, Robert of Gloucester, as the military leader of the Angevin party, for aid against Stephen, and as a condition-precedent tendered his allegiance to the Empress, that her claims, in preference to those of her husband, her son, then aged nine, and her illegitimate brother the Earl himself, were accepted and put forth by that faction. The result was the Battle of Lincoln on February 2nd, 1141, with the consequent overthrow and capture of Stephen. Whether it was then, or later after her election on April 8th, that her "regal" charters and money were first issued was not yet clear, but it seemed certain and natural that their issue commenced simultaneously, and that the same policy of style and propaganda was applied to both.

The titles used by Matilda upon her charters were, subject to very slight variations in contraction or arrangement :—

1. M. Imperatrix regis Henrici filia.
2. Matildis Imperatrix H. Regis filia.
3. Matildis Imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum domina.

And in two instances, only, “regina” was wrongly substituted for “domina,” no doubt in anticipation of the coronation, fixed for June 24th, 1141, which was prevented by the revolt of London. These titles set out Matilda’s claim to the throne, and so far as space permitted were therefore repeated upon her money.

In reading the obverse legend of the two coins from the Dartford hoard as : **IMPERATR** : Sir John Evans and all those who have written upon them since, and they are legion, have been led astray by the rather unusual **M** then in use on certain coins of the period. It is very widely spread and has a drop from the junction of the cross bars, resembling the foot of a letter. Compare the **M** in the coin illustrated, Hawkins 138. Hence the first upright of the wide **M** was read as **I** and the drop was taken to be the foot of the first upright of an **M** ; thus, with the usual : before it, suggesting : **IM** on one side of the fleurs of the crown, and **PERATR** : on the other. But with the custom of the charters before us, a glance at the two coins, or indeed at their photographic reproductions, would satisfy experts that the true legend commenced : **M**, with the drop from the cross-bars touching the pellet which formed the termination, or knot, of the coils of hair. The initial **I** of Imperatr’ would follow between the two front fleurs of the crown, and most of the rest of the legend **MPERATR** : could be traced in front of the face, and thus give the full reading : **M IMPERATR** :

A comparison, for example, of Hawkins, figure 633, where the engraver, probably from instruction, had copied the letter as : **IM**, with the photographs on Plate LXI, figures 1 and 2 of the British Museum Catalogue of Norman coins, or those in the Rashleigh or Carlyon-Britton sale catalogues of the same coins, would disclose how easy it was for the misreading to have occurred.

But now the Society was indebted to the courtesy of Mr. A. H. Baldwin for direct evidence in support of this correction :—



SILVER PENNY OF THE EMPRESS MATILDA.

(A. H. BALDWIN.)

The coin was quite new to our text-books, and read :—

Obverse [**: M I**] **IMPERA**•

Reverse **✠RODBERD : ON : [GLO]V**•¹

Although not from the same die as the Dartford coins, it was by the same hand and arrangement, therefore, as the **M** of **IMPERA**• is quite clear and in front of the face, it could not be the same **M** that had hitherto been assumed to be behind the neck. In the centre of the reverse cross the usual saltire is replaced by a tiny Maltese cross very pointed at the angles. Also, as further evidence of the then prevalent habit of altering dies, it would be noticed that every letter after the **O**, which, in the first instance had been erroneously duplicated, was corrected by repunching. Some of the punches could be identified with those on the **✠HENRICVS** coin of Hawkins 259–255, kindly exhibited by Major Carlyon-Britton for comparison that evening.

The parallel, therefore, between the charters, class 1, commencing **M. Imperatrix** and the three coins of Hawkins type 633, reading **: M IMPERATR :** and **: M IMPERA**• was complete.

The parallel between the charters, class 2, commencing **Matildis Imperatrix**, and the more numerous coins of type, Hawkins, 634, was equally close, because the latter coins read : **: MATILDIS IMP**,

¹ On page [361] Mr. Andrew corrects this reading to **DE : [BRISTO]V**• and the mint, therefore, to Bristol.

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with varied extensions of the title to **IMPER**, for Imper. The interesting coin of this class, for example, exhibited by their President, Mr. Walters, read : **MATILLIS : IMP**, and contractions even to Matild' and Matildi' appeared on both coins and charters.

He hoped to treat of the titles "Domina" and "Regina" on a future occasion, but that of "Regis Henrici filia" appeared upon every charter of the Empress after her bid for the throne, that he could find recorded, and the reason for this was that it had a technical meaning in mediæval English law.

At the April Meeting of 1920 he had ventured to treat the legends **✠PERERIC** and **✠PERERICM**: on the coins of this period and general type, as two words, namely *per* with accusative *ericam*, for the Plantagenet badge, but fortunately Major Carlyon-Britton improved upon this suggestion by construing the second word as an Angevin contraction of Henricus, and instanced the actual forms **ENRICVS** and **ERIC**, itself, on the Anglo-Gallic coins of Henry II and Henry IV. The natural script-form of Henricum was then Hēriċ, for the signs above the letters would indicate that *n* and *um* were omitted; and the absence of the aspirate H was common, not only on the Continent, but also here. Even the name "Harold" had appeared as "Arold" on the Bayeux Tapestry and the H of Hastings and other mints is often absent on Norman money. But the coin of Henry IV, for instance, reading **ERIC**, and representing a series in that form, recently exhibited by the President, Mr. Walters, was alone sufficient to prove that there could be no numismatic objection to the reading *per Ericm* for *per Henricum*.

The student of mediæval law would at once recognize the technical meaning and importance of that phrase upon an English coin, for it represented the old legal maxim of "*Per et Post*," the very crux of every writ of entry and claim to inheritance.

Let us remember that Matilda claimed as the heir of the last king entitled to the throne: namely, as the filia Regis Henrici, of her charters, whereas Stephen's claim was as a grandson of the first, or paramount, king of the Norman line; and then let us refer

to the difference between "*per*" and "*post*" in mediæval law, which is perhaps best defined by *Wharton*, p. 720, as :—

Per and Post. To come in the *per* is to claim by or through the person last entitled to an estate as the heirs or assigns of the grantee : to come in in the *post* is to claim by a paramount and prior title, as the lord by escheat.

Therefore, as Matilda claimed "through Henry, the person last entitled," she could not have better expressed her claim tersely in legal form than as "*per Henricum*," or, as we have it on the coins, ***PER ERICM :** This completed the third parallel with her charters, for in them brevity being no object, the same claim appeared in full as "*Regis Henrici filia*," or contracted as "*H. regis filia*."

An instance of the opposite royal claim in *post* occurred in a charter of her father, Henry I ; for his elder brother, Robert of Normandy, was still living, and his own claim, if any, therefore, was, like Stephen's, not from the last king entitled, Rufus, but from the Conqueror. It was "*Henricus filius Willelmi Regis post obitum fratris sui Willelmi, Dei gratia rex Anglorum*."

But there was another reason for the selection of the legend ***PERERICM :** for the official coinage which was intended to be issued throughout the country between Matilda's election at Winchester and her actual coronation, later fixed for June 24th. The throne was elective and she was not yet crowned. At first the party opposed to Stephen had looked to her son, Prince Henry afterwards Henry II, in spite of his youth, and this explains the general issue of the coins bearing his name. The military party of the west, following the precedent of William the Bastard, had offered the crown to Robert of Gloucester. But the moderate barons, now that Stephen was no longer a factor to be considered, and in particular the Church, still influenced by the old oath of allegiance, declared for Matilda, and this cast the die in her favour. Her final selection, therefore, was in the nature of a compromise between three claimants, the daughter, the grandson, and the illegitimate son of King Henry, the last king in possession. Hence the claims of all three came

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within the definition *per Henricum*, and so the phrase combined not only the claims of the Angevin party, but of all the factions of discontent within its camp and throughout the country.

Now what was the case against *per Henricum*? It was admittedly an expedient to meet a difficulty, and, like most literary expedients, seemed to have attracted but little serious thought and research. He would treat it, shortly, in paragraphs.

1. That the **✠PERERIC** dies, unlike those bearing Matilda's name, were of official English work, and therefore supplied by William Fitz Otto, the hereditary cuneator at the London mint, and his services were not at Matilda's disposal.

William Fitz Otto held his lands, which were in Essex, in grand serjeanty as hereditary cuneator, and the evidence that he had transferred his homage to Matilda and duly performed his duties as cuneator for her prior to June, 1141, is to be found in a charter in the Harleian Manuscripts addressed by Matilda—M. Imperatrix Regis Henrici filia—at Westminster to the Sheriffs of Essex, directing them to admit William Fitz Otto to his lands on the same terms as he held them on the day that her father, King Henry, was living and dead. It is common ground that there are no other dies than the **✠PERERIC** series that William Fitz Otto could have been responsible for on Matilda's behalf.

2. That of the mints of the **✠PERERIC** series, whilst Bristol and Winchester might be expected to coin for Matilda, and London, also, for a brief period, Lincoln, Stamford and Canterbury were never within her jurisdiction.

Lincoln. This exception seemed difficult to understand, because the Earl of Chester was primarily responsible for Matilda's success and election, and we are distinctly told by the chroniclers that after the Battle of Lincoln the city fell into his hands and was ruthlessly treated. He continued to hold the city for Matilda until his treaty with Stephen at Stamford in March, 1142. The Saxon Chronicler seems to have had the mint in mind when he explains that the Earl held Lincoln and all that had belonged there to the King.

Stamford fell with Lincoln to the Angevin party on February 2nd, 1141, and was held for Matilda until Stephen made his progress in force through the eastern counties on his way to York for Easter, 1142. Here, at Stamford, congregated the leaders of Matilda's party in the eastern counties, Ranulf Earl of Chester, William Earl of Lincoln, Roger Earl of Warwick, and Eustace Fitz-John from Yorkshire, to make their peace with Stephen on the threshold of the earldom of Lincoln, as Dr. Round explains it; and, quoting the Saxon Chronicle, he continues: "The King and Earl Randolph agreed at Stamford, and swore oaths and plighted troth, that neither of them should prove traitor to the other." Those were the terms upon which the Earl transferred his allegiance from Matilda to Stephen, and then, only, was Stephen admitted into Stamford. But as a matter of fact the **✠PERERIC** coins at Stamford were issued by the Abbot of Peterborough's moneyer, Lefsi, and the Abbot, with his greater neighbours, the Bishops of Lincoln and of Ely, had been amongst the first to support Matilda's cause and was present at her election.

Canterbury. Theobald, the then Archbishop, had never sworn allegiance to Matilda, but on his appointment he had taken the oath of allegiance to Stephen. Therefore, before attending Matilda's election at Winchester on April 8th, he obtained her permission to visit Stephen in prison at Bristol Castle and there obtained formal release from his allegiance. It was he who, as the Primate, summoned "all the Bishops and Abbots" to her election, and he was a staunch supporter of the Empress throughout, even long after Stephen's restoration, and in her cause had escaped barely with life at the rout from Winchester, September, 1141. All the **✠PERERIC** coins of Canterbury bear the name of one moneyer, and he was William, the moneyer of the Archbishop.

3. "That the moneyers temporized . . . and that the inscription **PERERIC** was deliberately substituted for the King's name, and was intended to be unintelligible then as it is to us."

But who were these Moneyers of "Tooley Street" to dictate the money of England? Two of them were peaceful citizens of

Earl Robert of Gloucester's stronghold of Bristol, and Earl Robert had just hanged the Lord of Devizes before his own castle for temporizing with both sides. Two more were in the gentle hands of the Earl of Chester at Lincoln, where five hundred of their fellow citizens had perished in the sacking of their city on February the 2nd. But, as already had been explained, every moneyer whose name appears upon a **✠PERERIC** coin was under the direct orders of Matilda's party. Moreover, Turchil of Bristol, for instance, issued these coins, and his name also appears on both of the types that bear Matilda's own name, so of what advantage could it be to him to pretend to temporize? But what of the charter to the cuneator who designed the dies?

4. That "in the Danish coins with the inscriptions **IOANSTREX**, issued apparently during the struggle between Magnus and Swein for the throne of Denmark in 1044-7, we have a possible parallel to this use of a meaningless inscription."

To this it is sufficient to reply that, according to our expert on Danish coinage of that period, Mr. H. Alexander Parsons, the coins in question could have had nothing to do with the civil war, because they were not issued until a later period.

The President expressed his agreement with Mr. Andrew's short and verbal summary of his paper. He had referred to Plate LXI, figures 1 and 2, of the Museum Catalogue, and thought that it was quite certain that the first letter of the legend was **M** and not **IM** as had hitherto been supposed. He was also of opinion that the fact alone that **✠PERERIC** coins were struck at Bristol proved that they were issued by Matilda's party; and the coincidence of the forms **ERIC** for Henry, on, for instance, an Anglo-Gallic hardit of Henry IV, and **PER ERIC** on the coins claimed for Henry I's daughter could not, he thought, be accidental.

SPECIAL EXHIBITION OF WAR CURRENCY-NOTES.

Mr. Coleman P. Hyman exhibited his remarkable collection of war currency-notes, which comprised several hundreds of examples

of the paper currency issued by almost all the nations, under the financial stress of war conditions.

He described the most interesting, and explained the circumstances which led to the issue or calling in of some, and the popularity and sobriquets of others; for many had their stories. Perhaps the exhibit that attracted most attention was a forgery of a British pound-note, wonderfully reproduced, yet entirely the product of pen and ink.

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

Mr. Andrew, as Secretary, presented the following report of the Council for the year 1921.

In this our eighteenth annual report to the Members, the list of eighteen Royal Members remains unchanged, but the number of the Honorary Members is, to our deep regret, reduced to six by the death of Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Milford Haven, who was the author of the two standard works on British and Foreign naval medals, and a contributor to the Society's *Journal*. He had arranged with the Secretary to again address the Society during the present winter; and his loss will be felt by all of us.

During the year the following seventeen new Members have been welcomed to the Society:—

Dr. G. H. Abbott.	Mr. P. Lonergan.
Mr. Thomas G. Barnett.	The Library of the University
The Department of Agriculture, Dublin.	of Michigan, U.S.A.
The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.	Mr. Alfred C. Montagu.
Mr. N. D. Cuthbertson, Librarian.	Mr. J. Nevin.
Mr. Edward J. French, M.A.	Mr. Ivo Pakenham.
Mr. Walter E. Grundy.	Mr. G. H. Stafford.
Mr. T. Hattori.	The Numismatic Society of
Lieut.-Commander Norman D. Holbrook, V.C.	Victoria, Australia.
	Miss Willmott.
	Mr. Philip Ziegler.

We have to regret the deaths of four Members during the year, but our list of resignations is light in view of the present financial depression.

It will be in your recollection that during the war we decided to keep open the position of all Members, because it was obvious that those at the Front were not likely to trouble about subscriptions at home. This is now under revision, and, so far as yet ascertained, the list stands at 18 Royal, 6 Honorary, 328 Ordinary Members, total 352.

The number 328 includes 25 Life Members, and although it shows a reduction of 16 Members when compared with our last Report, it really represents the true position of the Society as it has been since the closing years of the war.

By the generosity of Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton the Society enjoyed for eighteen years the use, rent free, of its delightful suite of apartments at 43, Bedford Square. But upon his removal from London to Fishbourne, near Chichester, it became necessary that a new address should be found without delay. In this enquiry your President, Colonel Morrieson and the Secretary acted for the Society, and, finally, suitable arrangements were made with the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers of Health, through their courteous Secretary, Mr. George S. Elliston, M.C., for the use of the present excellent suite of rooms at 1, Upper Montague Street, the first Meeting being held there in March. Meanwhile, the Society being homeless, it was impracticable to hold the usual Meeting in February, and in this relation we would like to mention that when the matter was still in doubt Mr. F. Willson Yeates most thoughtfully invited the Members to hold the March Meeting at his house, if the new premises were not ready for it.

Before leaving this subject we, as your Council, ought to place upon record that we fully realize the generous benefit which for eighteen years Major Carlyon-Britton has conferred upon the Society by thus providing it with the home of its youth at 43, Bedford Square, where there was always a happy welcome to all its Members.

The removal of the Society's library and effects fell to the care of our Librarian, Mr. H. Alexander Parsons, and so well did he perform his duties in arranging the decoration of the new room, its fittings, the purchase of an additional bookcase, and the actual transfer of the books and other possessions at the total cost of only £28 4s. 6d., that he has earned the highest appreciation of us all.

From the financial point of view the Society seems to have made a profit out of its own removal, for Major W. J. Freer at once subscribed £10 towards the cost of the new bookcase, Miss Helen Farquhar followed his example with a second £10 and, later, she contributed £6 11s. towards the general removal expenses. Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler not only paid the Society's share of the decoration of the room to be used as the Library but added £10 as its proportion of the rent. Mr. Grant R. Francis designed and provided the Society's door-plate, and Colonel Morrieson lends us two bookcases.

Encouraging as this is, it is not all, for the Society has many friends. Your Editor, Mr. W. J. Andrew, is very anxious to be able to restore the Society's *Journal* to its pre-war status of 400 pages, and in the volume now being printed off for issue he has ventured to take a practical step to that end by increasing the number to 370. But owing to the greatly increased cost of production, to maintain the quality of a *journal*, such as we had before the war, on a guinea subscription means that it must be issued every eighteen instead of every twelve months, that is, two volumes in every three years, for the volume that every Member receives for his guinea subscription costs us more than thirty shillings net. The value he will receive, therefore, remains the same as before, because the book is to-day worth more owing to its cost.

When we indicated in our last Report that by this means we should avoid any necessity for raising the subscription, many letters of approval followed. Mr. Frank E. Burton, of Orston Hall, Nottinghamshire, emphasised his by enclosing a cheque for ten guineas, and Dr. R. T. Cassall, of Abertillery, voluntarily trebled his subscription. Other Members, Mr. H. A. Bennie Gray, Mr.

Philip Ziegler, Mr. Edgar Burnett, Colonel T. G. Taylor, Sir William Wells, and others have also assisted by the purchase of "back" volumes of the *Journal*; in fact, in one way or another, some by cheque, some by work, some by both, but all unasked, Members of this Society have taken a practical and generous interest in assisting its work for the advancement of historical numismatic science.

Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler, whose name has been already mentioned, has recently given £100 towards the restoration of the *Journal* to its old form. This is not the first generous gift of £100 from Mr. Wheeler to the Society, and we hope that volume xvi, for it is too late to further increase the pages of volume xv, will reflect credit upon him and please him by pleasing you, for he deserves the very best thanks you and we can give him.

We have said that the Society has many friends, and we now turn to our Vice-President, John Sanford Saltus, of New York, an Officer of the Legion of Honour, and subject to your voting in the ballot to-night, President of this Society for the coming year. He was an original Member of the Society and, in addition to numerous gifts of coins and medals, at a cost of £200 he founded the Society's gold medal in 1910, which the Members, not he, named "The John Sanford Saltus Medal." In 1911 he contributed £150 to the Research Fund, and in 1912 further increased it by a thousand-franc note. In 1913 he made a gift of £510 to the Society's funds. In 1918 he subscribed \$400, £95 16s. 9d., in 1920 £113 18s. 1d., and this year £107, the differences being due to the exchange on \$400. All these sums are to-day represented by securities in our capital account.

We wonder whether any similar British Society has so generous a friend as we have in Mr. Saltus, and it is a great pleasure to us that after considerable pressure he has allowed us to nominate him as President for one year. This is the only honour within our power which we can accord to him, and therefore we do it in all gratitude. But, also, we welcome him with hands across the sea as representing our American Members, and this token of fellowship is our little

atom to the forging of the links that weld two great nations together in comradeship.

During the period when Mr. Saltus is not in England your Council has requested Mr. Grant R. Francis to kindly act for him.

There has been a gradual improvement in the attendance at our monthly Meetings, until recently they have become very popular gatherings; and it is hoped that this marked improvement will continue. The papers and exhibitions have been of the best, and in every way the year has been progressive and satisfactory.

Our President, Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., has presided at every Meeting save one, which it was impossible for him to attend; and his deep knowledge of all branches of numismatic science and his invariable courtesy to all have rendered it an honour to us to work with him.

Mr. A. C. Hutchins, F.C.A., Treasurer of the Society, will make his report to you in person,¹ and you will, we are sure, unite with us in thanking him for the great care and attention he gives to our financial affairs. Also you will appreciate the kind help of Mr. W. Beresford Smith and Mr. A. H. Baldwin in auditing the accounts this year.

To Mr. H. W. Taffs and to Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher, for acting to-night as Scrutators of the Ballot, our thanks also are due, for it may be a very dull, but it must not be a thankless, office.

On the proposal of Mr. Willoughby Gardner, the report was unanimously adopted.

THE BALLOT FOR OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1922.

The Scrutators having been previously appointed, the ballot was taken, and they reported that the list of Members nominated by the Council had been elected.

¹ He was, however, unable to be present.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1922.

President :—J. Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur.

Acting President in England by request of the Council :—Grant R. Francis.

Vice-Presidents :—Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., F.S.A. ; Miss Helen Farquhar ; Grant R. Francis ; Major W. J. Freer, D.L., F.S.A. ; L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A. ; Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.

Director :—Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.

Treasurer :—Alexander C. Hutchins, F.C.A.

Librarian :—H. Alexander Parsons.

Secretary :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

Council :—Stanley Bousfield, M.A., M.D. ; William Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S. ; Lionel L. Fletcher ; The Right Hon. Lord Grantley, D.L., F.S.A. ; Richard C. Lockett, F.S.A. ; Captain C. L. V. Marno ; W. Sharp Ogden, F.S.A. ; Walter L. Pocock ; the Rev. Edgar Rogers, M.A., O.B.E. ; W. Beresford Smith ; S. M. Spink ; H. W. Taffs ; Major K. P. Vaughan-Morgan, O.B.E. ; Sir William Wells ; Ernest H. Wheeler.

Mr. Andrew moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Walters as the retiring President, and expressed the pleasure it had been to all the Members of the Council to work with him as their leader during his years of office ; and Mr. Parsons, in seconding, said he congratulated the Members upon the success of his presidency to the Society. Carried unanimously.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1922.

President.

J. SANFORD SALTUS, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur.

Acting President in England

(by request of the Council).

GRANT R. FRANCIS.

Vice-Presidents.

MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.

MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.

GRANT R. FRANCIS.

MAJOR W. J. FREER, D.L., F.S.A.

L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

Director.

FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.

Treasurer.

SIR WILLIAM WELLS, F.S.A.

Librarian.

H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

Secretary.

W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

Council.

STANLEY BOUSFIELD, M.A., M.D.

WILLIAM DALE, F.S.A., F.G.S.

LIONEL L. FLETCHER.

LORD GRANTLEY, D.L., F.S.A.

RICHARD C. LOCKETT, F.S.A.

CAPTAIN C. L. V. MARNO.

W. SHARP OGDEN, F.S.A.

WALTER L. POCOCK.

THE REV. EDGAR ROGERS, O.B.E., M.A.

W. BERESFORD SMITH.

S. M. SPINK.

H. W. TAFFS.

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- 1903-4. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1905. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
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1909. W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1911. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1912. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1913. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1914. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1915. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1916. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1917. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1920. FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1921. FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922. J. SANFORD SALTUS, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur.¹
1922. GRANT R. FRANCIS—from June 28th, 1922.

The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

MEDALLISTS.

1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., D.L.
1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.
1920. Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.

¹ Mr. Saltus died on June 22nd, 1922, see page 356.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, January 25th, 1922.

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS,
Acting-President, in the Chair.

Mr. F. A. Walters as the retiring President, and Major Freer on behalf of the Society, welcomed Mr. Francis to the Chair as Acting-President in the absence of Mr. John Sanford Saltus.

Mr. Francis replied, and read a cablegram from Mr. Saltus in New York, thanking all the Members for the honour they had conferred upon him by electing him President of the Society at the November ballot, and wishing them a prosperous year.

Mr. Andrew, as Editor, placed Volume XV of the *Journal* upon the table. He remarked that it would be issued to Members in February, when they would notice that it was nearly uniform in character with the pre-war series.

Exhibitions.

In illustration of his two papers, Mr. H. Alexander Parsons exhibited a large series of early Irish coins, each silver penny being shown with its prototype in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman issues, for comparison. To this exhibition Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, Mr. R. C. Lockett, and Mr. E. H. Wheeler also contributed examples from their collections.

By Mr. F. A. Walters:—A coin of unusual interest, being a sceatta or, if named from its design, a silver styca of Ecgbeorht, second Archbishop of York, 735–766, and friend of Beda. It bears the Archbishop's name and title around a central cross on the obverse, and those of Alchred, King of Northumbria, 765–774, around a similar cross on the reverse.

Alchred did not succeed until Easter, 765, and Ecgbeorht died in November, 766, so the actual date of the coin is closely defined. As would be expected in a Northumbrian legend of that period, runes are in evidence, and runic C,

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for *Cununc*=king, represents Alchred's title. Lord Grantley has two coins of this type of the Archbishop's money, which are illustrated as figs. 6 and 7 of the plate facing page 6 of vol. ii of the *Journal*, and this example, which was previously unknown, unites the two, for it is of the obverse of 7 and reverse of 6. The Meeting expressed the hope that Mr. Walters would contribute a paper upon it, and allow it to be illustrated in the *Journal*.

By Mr. Grant R. Francis :—The large medal in silver of Prince James and Clementina, designed by Norbert Roettiers to commemorate the birth of Prince Charles in 1720. An example was illustrated by Miss H. Farquhar in vol. iii of the *Journal*, page 232.

By Mr. G. H. Stafford :—An uncertain, but probably a contemporary imitation of the Bristol halfcrown of Charles I, being of Hawkins, type 4 on the obverse, and type 6 on the reverse. The Granby token of 1737, but struck in silver and probably a trial piece.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—Examples of the three tokens bearing the portrait of Dr. Johnson, the subject of Professor Barnard's paper at the last Meeting.

Papers.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HIBERNO-DANISH COINAGE.

The evening was devoted to a consideration of early Irish numismatics, and towards that end Mr. H. Alexander Parsons contributed papers on the Hiberno-Danish and the early Celtic sides of the subject. The Hiberno-Danish coins were fairly well known but, owing to a large proportion of the series bearing frankly unintelligible inscriptions, or mere strokes for legends, no satisfactory system of chronology had been promulgated. The subject was further obscured by the importation into the series of all sorts of coins belonging to other nations of the Scandinavian North. After eliminating these, Mr. Parsons showed that the first four Hiberno-Danish issues, the only types with intelligible legends, followed

Anglo-Saxon models from Ethelred II to, and including, the first real type of Canute. In the light of modern knowledge of the dates of these prototypes, and of the foreign imitations of them, it was demonstrated that the first of these Dublin issues followed the *Crux* type of Ethelred II, and was issued in Dublin in the last decade of the tenth century. A collation of the Dublin moneyers of all the four types served to show the sequence of the three issues following this *Crux* coinage, and incidentally afforded some evidence of the order of the prototypes.

The series which formed the remaining body of the Hiberno-Danish currency bore unintelligible legends, but was shown, by comparison with the Anglo-Saxon, Danish and Norman prototypes, to fall into four periods, distinguished by weight, as follows :—

- a* From about 1025 to 1050 ; weight 10 to 15 grains.
- b* „ 1050 „ 1065 ; „ 5 „ 10 „
- c* „ 1065 „ 1095 ; „ 10 „ 15 „
- d* „ 1095 „ 1100 ; of the large model and low weights of the bracteate money of the twelfth century.

On economic grounds weight was considered to be of primary importance, but the almost complete series of the main types with their prototypes, placed on view by Mr. Parsons from his own collection and from those of Mr. Carlyon-Britton, Mr. Lockett and Mr. Wheeler, also showed the justice of the division given above, in view of the gradual evolution of the types and the blending of the designs, one into another, as time progressed.

AN IRISH ELEVENTH-CENTURY COINAGE OF THE SOUTHERN O'NEIL.

The second paper by Mr. Parsons was devoted to a consideration of a new and native coinage attributed to the O'Neil of the South. He exhibited a coin and showed from it, and by enlarged crayon sketches, that the obverse inscription read +NOIL REX M, and the reverse BLANPISE ON LI, whilst the designs followed those of two types of Edward the Confessor. Although the coin was issued under Celtic authority its legend suggested the hand of a Norse craftsman

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who used the Old-Norse form Nöil for Nœil, now modern Neil. Other early instances of the kind were quoted to show the justice of this epigraphic interpretation, and, by association of the obverse REX M with the reverse BLANFISE ON LI, Limerick in Munster was shown to be the place of origin of the money. On the evidence of the Anglo-Saxon prototypes the coinage was of the last half of the eleventh century, and, although perhaps both difficult and involved, Irish history of that time served to show that between the temporary eclipse of the O'Briens of Munster after A.D. 1064, when Donchad was deposed and exiled, and a few years following 1072, when his nephew Turlough O'Brien recovered the position, the O'Neil of the South, in the person of Conchobar O'Neil, son of Malachy II, became the High King "with opposition," and that his name would therefore appear on any native coinage outside the Norse kingdom of Dublin.

The O'Neils had for many centuries been the hereditary High Kings and, with the exception of the intrusion of Brian Boru, had occupied that position through many generations, exacting tribute and homage from the kings of Munster as elsewhere.

The workmanship of the new money, although perhaps crude to modern eyes, was superior to the contemporary Norse money of Dublin, and reflected considerable credit on its Celtic sponsor.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, February 22nd, 1922.

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS,

Acting-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Francis read a letter from the President, Mr. Saltus, in New York, proposing a Member, and expressing the hope that he would again be in England and present at the June Meeting of the Society.

Mr. Harrold Edgar Gillingham, of Philadelphia, and Mr. F. Warren, of Winchester, were elected Members of the Society.

It was moved from the Chair and carried unanimously :—

That the Council and Members with great regret accept the resignation of Mr. A. C. Hutchins, F.C.A., and tender their grateful thanks for his long and valuable services throughout the period of twelve years during which he has acted as Treasurer to the Society.

Mr. Francis announced that the Council had appointed Sir William Wells, F.S.A., Treasurer of the Society in succession to Mr. Hutchins.

Also that Lieut.-Col. C. L. Evans, R.G.A., on leaving for service abroad, had written to the Secretary enclosing a cheque for £5 towards a fund for the purchase of coins, or for any other purpose the Council might consider desirable. A grateful vote of thanks was accorded to Colonel Evans.

The Secretary read the following letter, and placed the medal referred to upon the table for inspection :—

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET,
NEW YORK.

W. J. ANDREW, Esq., F.S.A.,
Secretary, The British Numismatic Society.

SIR,

On behalf of Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, President of the British Numismatic Society, and Honorary Governor of the American Numismatic Society, I have the honor to transmit as a gift to your Society a copy in copper of the medal commemorating the visit to the United States of Field-Marshal Foch. Through Mr. Saltus's express stipulation, this is the only copy struck in this metal.

May I avail myself of this opportunity to express the hope that the cordial relations which have marked the intercourse between our respective Societies may always continue.

Very respectfully yours,

SYDNEY P. NOE,
Secretary.

The medal, which bore a remarkably good portrait of the Marshal, was received with general approval by the Members as an interesting work of art, and Mr. Saltus was congratulated upon the result. A special vote of thanks, moved from the Chair, was passed to Mr. Saltus for the gift ; and to Mr. Noe, as Secretary of the American Numismatic Society, for the expression of fellowship between the two Societies so cordially conveyed by his letter, and reciprocated in full by the Members of this Society.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. H. A. Parsons :—An almost complete series of the types, mules, and main varieties of the coinages of Edward the Martyr and Ethelred II.

By Mr. William C. Wells :—A similar series, but with special reference to the Mint of Stamford, of which it was probably the most complete collection known.

By Mr. S. M. Spink :—Edward the Martyr. A penny struck from an altered die of Edgar.

Ethelred II. Hildebrand type A, of the Wareham Mint, reading PERHAM ; type A, variety *c*, of Thetford ; type B, 3, of Canterbury ; type D of the mint reading GEODA ; and a variety of type D with a cross in one angle of the reverse cross, and a pellet in the opposite angle, of York.

By Mr. E. H. Wheeler :—Ethelred II. A penny of the Ipswich Mint of Hildebrand type B, 1, variety *c* ; a variety, he remarked, only known of Huntingdon, Ipswich, Norwich and Thetford, all mints in the East of England. Type C, variety *b*, +ÆLFSIGE M^{TO} PER, Wareham ; type D, variety *a*, LOLIN + M LINICOL ; type E, +PVLFSIG · MO GRANT, Cambridge ; and type E, variety *a*, +ERLIOTHIS · IITH · COL.

By Mr. S. M. Spink :—Mary Stuart. The gold ryal of 1555 and the half-ryal of 1558.

Charles I.—The gold medal by Thomas Simon on the pacification of the Scottish Rebellion of 1639; *Medallic Illustrations*, I, p. 283, No. 93; plate xxiv, fig. 6.

Badge in silver gilt, bearing the crowned bust of Charles I on the obverse, and the two Houses of Parliament with the King and Speaker on the reverse; *Medallic Illustrations*, I, p. 292, No. 108; plate xxv, fig. 5. Of which the following explanation was offered. "Though this medal, or badge, bears a portrait of the King, it was probably instituted by order of Parliament, for the legend: 'Should hear both Houses of Parliament for True Religion and subjects freedom stand', is in accordance with the declaration of May 19th, 1642, which called upon the King to be advised by the wisdom of both Houses." It is by Thomas Rawlins, cast and chased, with wreath-border and ring for suspension.

Miss H. Farquhar added that of this badge there were only four examples known: in the British Museum; in the Hunter Collection, Glasgow; in a private collection; and this—which she believed to be the finest in state of preservation.

Paper.

THE TYPES OF EDWARD THE MARTYR AND ETHELRED II.

Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., read a paper intituled "The Chronological Sequence of the Types of Anglo-Saxon Coins: Eadweard the Martyr and Æthelræd II." To Edward the Martyr, A.D. 975–978, he credited but one coinage, namely *Hildebrand*, type A, because he believed that the single coin upon which type B of *Hildebrand* and the second type in the *British Museum Catalogue* are founded, which is in the Museum and passed through the Cuff, Murchison, Ford, Brice and Montagu collections, was one of the series of clever forgeries exposed by Mr. L. A. Lawrence in volumes II, III, and IV of the *Journal*.

The issues of Ethelred II, A.D. 978–1016, he divided into thirteen types, which he chronologically arranged in the following order. giving his reasons and referring to numerous mules and varieties in support of his arrangement.

Type	<i>Hildebrand.</i>	<i>British Museum Catalogue.</i>
I.	Included in A.	Included in I.
II.	B, 1.	II, variety <i>a</i> .
III.	B, 2.	II, variety <i>d</i> .
IV.	B, 3.	II, variety <i>f</i> .
V.	C, variety <i>b</i> .	III.
VI.	C.	III, variety <i>a</i> .
VII.	Included in A.	Included in I.
VIII.	G.	X.
IX.	E, variety <i>c</i> .	VII.
X.	Included in A.	Included in I.
XI.	E.	VIII.
XII.	D.	IV, variety <i>a</i> .
XIII.	A, variety <i>a</i> .	I, variety <i>a</i> .

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, March 22nd, 1922.

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS,

Acting-President, in the Chair.

Mrs. Robert James Campbell, of New York, The National Library of Wales, and Mr. William Waite Sanderson, C.B.E., were elected to membership.

Presentation.

By Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler :—Sets of printed exhibition-forms for use at the Meetings. For which a vote of thanks was accorded to him.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence :—The eight piedforts referred to in his paper.

By Mr. Grant R. Francis :—A mould in terra-cotta for casting second-brass coins of the Emperors Galerius Maximianus, A.D. 292–311, and Maximinus Daza, A.D. 305–313. Legends IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG, and GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB CAES; for the mould gives only the two obverses, with an almost identical portrait, laureated, to right. It is a section of such a mould as that illustrated and described by Mr. William Sharp Ogden in vol. v of the *Journal*, pages 26–28, and the excellence of its workmanship suggests that it was used for casting votive pieces, or, perhaps, official money of necessity in remote districts. Although in perfect condition, it bears evidence of use.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—A half-groat of Charles I with mint-mark ton, weighing 22 grains.

By Mr. Coleman P. Hyman :—The two-peso piece issued in Mexico to commemorate the centenary 1821–1921.

PERERIC

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—In further illustration of Mr. Andrew's paper, read at the November Meeting, and the contraction of the name *Henricus* on English coins, a half-groat of Henry VII's third coinage, with mint-mark mullet, reading **HE'RIC**; and a groat of Henry VIII's second coinage, with mint-mark rose, reading **HE'RIC**.

Paper.

“PIEDFORTS.”

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., read a paper entitled “English Piedforts and their Purpose,” in which he showed that these thick and heavy pieces were struck in silver from coin dies, and that they differed from the money they represented in their increased thickness

and consequent weight. The weights of the piedforts showed no kind of relation to those of the corresponding coins, nor did the same denominations of piedforts disclose any relative agreement in that respect. They were, therefore, not intended for currency; and he suggested that they were probably patterns issued to the workshops of the various mints when the new dies were being prepared, to show what the chief engraver had in mind, and what he desired the coins to look like when completed. The piedforts were, no doubt, made thick and heavy to prevent their being mixed unintentionally with the ordinary issues from the mint.

Mr. Lawrence said that he was very willing to hear other suggestions as to the purpose of these thick pieces, and anxious to receive particulars of any additional examples that might be within the knowledge of Members. He described eleven piedforts that were in the British Museum, and showed eight from his own collection. These varied from the time of Edward I to that of Henry VIII, and represented groats, half-groats, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, April 26th, 1922.

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS,
Acting-President, in the Chair.

The Acting-President announced that the Council had unanimously nominated Sir Henry Hoyle Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., for election as an Honorary Member of the Society. Sir Henry H. Howorth, he said, was a Member of the Society, an ex-President of the Royal Numismatic Society, a Trustee of the British Museum, and, perhaps, he might term him the doyen of numismatists in this country. As July 1st would be Sir Henry's eightieth birthday, the Members would have the pleasant opportunity, by their votes at the Meeting on June 28th, of thus conferring

the freedom of the Society upon him as a birthday gift. At that Meeting, too, he would remind Members, Mr. Saltus, the President, would be again in England, and present in the Chair at the special medallion exhibition arranged for the occasion.

Mr. Hugh Neville Bagot ; Mr. Edgar M. Burnett ; Mr. G. S. Elliston, M.C., M.A. ; Mr. A. J. Morris ; and Major Henry Charles Verner were elected Members.

Presentations to the Library.

By Mr. H. Ling Roth :—The Native Coins of the East Indies and Malay Peninsula ; by H. C. Millies.

Ancient Indian Coin-weights ; by Edward Thomas, F.R.S.

By Messrs. Spink and Son :—Bound copy of Volume xxix of their Numismatic Circular.

A vote of thanks was passed to these thoughtful Donors.

Exhibitions.

In illustration of Mr. Francis's Paper.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—The twenty-five examples of error-coins, described by Mr. Francis, to which his name was noted.

By Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler :—The thirty-nine coins similarly described and noted by his name in the paper.

By Mr. S. M. Spink :—A Bristol shilling of William III, struck on a shilling of James I. The coin was in perfect preservation, and the obverse so freshly struck that Mr. W. J. Andrew suggested that one of the hammered shillings, then being called in, had been selected for the trial of the new dies before they were finally hardened, because it was of softer silver than the machine-made flans then in use ; but whether made by accident or design, the coin stood quite alone.

Two half-crowns of the Commonwealth, dated 1651, but struck upon silver flans intended for the shillings.

An example of the DRITANNIAR sixpence of 1878.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence :—Four testoons of Edward VI of the issues bearing the obverse and reverse legends interchanged. He drew attention to the fact that they were all from different dies, which he thought was evidence that the transposition must have been intentional.

By Dr. Herbert Peck :—Halfpenny of William III reading TERTVS.

By Mr. W. J. Andrew :—The “COME BACK AGAIN PRETENTER ” medal of 1746, with the last word so spelt.

Other Exhibitions.

By Mr. Andrew, from Mr. C. J. Maurice, of Oxford :—Five Roman base denarii, A.D. 260–267, of Gallienus, Salonina his Empress, and Postumus, found with others in the churchyard of Michelmersh, Hampshire, whilst his father, the Rev. John P. Maurice, was Rector, 1840–74.

From Mr. F. Warren, of Winchester :—Six mediæval counters of bronze. One, the design of which was based upon Stephen's type, Hawkins 268, Mr. Andrew said was the earliest he had seen, and probably of Henry III's time, the rest being certainly of the following reign. He agreed with Mr. Lawrence that they were for official purposes, but he could not accept the suggestion that the hole in their centre had anything to do with King John's edict of 1205 that bad money should be pierced. On the contrary, Mr. Warren's counters proved that they had been stamped on strips of metal and then cut out with brace and bit, for the holes were centred to the circle of the counter and not to its design. In one instance a false start had been made, with the result that the first hole was not in the centre, and the blade of the bit had therefore commenced to cut through the design representing the legend, instead of around its edge.

Paper.

CURIOUS ERRORS ON OUR MONEY DURING THE LAST FOUR CENTURIES.

This was the title of a very interesting paper read by Mr. Grant R. Francis, whilst Major W. J. Freer presided in the vacated Chair.

It was, said Mr. Francis, a surprising fact that in comparatively modern times a great national institution such as the Royal Mint should have been responsible for the numerous errors of spelling, arrangement, and omission, that were exhibited in the room that evening, or described in his paper.

The following is a chronological list of the principal variants :—

Edward VI.—Certain issues in both gold and silver, on which, due possibly to a misunderstanding of the original instructions, the usual obverse and reverse inscriptions were transposed. Shilling reading EDVARD.¹ Sixpence with collar of the Garter omitted from the King's neck. Half-groats, CASTOR¹ and CANTON¹ for *Cantor* = Canterbury. Pennies and halfpennies, SPIPA and SPIPI for *spina*.

Philip and Mary.—Shillings, POSVIMS, ADIVTORIVM; and even the numerals of value sometimes omitted. Penny, SPINE.

Elizabeth.—Shilling with ELIZB. Milled sixpence, ELIZABTH. Penny, SPINE. Mr. Francis called attention to the curious repetition of error in this word of the motto *Rosa sine spina*, which Milton later rendered "Without Thorn the Rose."

James I.—Sixpences, mint-mark lys; arms wrongly marshalled; sixpence of 1621, SEPRAT.¹ Half-groat, VNATA; and both half-groats and pennies struck from two reverse dies.

Charles I.—Crowns, AVSPIGE; on an Exeter crown CHRSTO for *Christo*. Half-crowns, CAROLLVS at Oxford; and HIR instead of *Hib* for *Hibernia* at Chester. Shillings, CHISO, CHISTO, CHRISO,¹ CHRITO, and CHRSTO for *Christo*; REGNOO; and EP for *et*; at Oxford 1044 for 1644; and at Shrewsbury

¹ Lieut-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.

EXVGAT.¹ Sixpences, by Briot, CHISTO,¹ with reverse of the gold half-unite; date 1266 but repunched 1626. Threepence of York, AVSPCE.¹ Half-groat, H in *thronum* horizontal. Richmond farthing, CARA.¹

The Commonwealth.—The only variants known to the Lecturer were those exhibited by Mr. Wheeler that evening, namely: Shillings, COMMONWEATH, COMMONWEALH, and COMONWEALTH. Farthing, ENGLANDS FARDIN.

Charles II.—Crowns, without stops; QVRRTO,^{1,2} EGN^{1,2} on the edge; or dated 1671 with VICESIMO QVARTO as the regnal year on the edge. Half-crown,² MRG for *mag*. Shilling¹ with the arms of Scotland and Ireland transposed. Threepence¹ of 1676 with obverse from the die for the fourpence. Halfpenny, CRAOLVS.^{1,2} Farthing, CAROLA,² BRITTINIA,¹ or BRITINNIA.²

James II.—Mr. Francis had noticed only DEI GRATA on an Irish shilling, "gun-money" series.

William and Mary, William III.—Crown of 1696, GEI GRA.^{1,2} Half-crowns, 1690 GRETIA¹; 1693 the 3 inverted, also corrected. Shillings, GVLELMVS²; 1697 DEI GRI.¹ Sixpences of both York and Chester¹ with the arms misplaced. Fourpence dated 1702 although the "old-style" was still in vogue when William died. Penny, GVIELMVS.¹ Halfpennies, GVLIELMS,² GVILELMVS,² GVLIEEMVS;^{1,2} TER TVS;² TERTEVS;² TERTVS² of 1696 and 1699; the I over the V in *Tertius*;² and V and A interchanged or inverted.² Farthings, GVLIELMS;² GVLILEMVS;² GVLILMVS;² GVLIEEMVS;² R corrected to E in both *Gulielmus*² and *Tertius*²; BRITAN NIA.²

Anne.—Neither Mr. Francis nor the exhibitors had discovered any errors of her reign.

George I.—Half-crown, 1717, TIRTIO² on the edge. Shilling, 1723, with the arms misplaced.

George II.—Halfpenny, 1730, GEOGIVS.^{1,2}

¹ Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.

² Mr. E. H. Wheeler.

George III.—Halfpennies, 1771, and 1772, GEORIVS ;^{1, 2} 1775, GEROGIVS.

George IV.—Crown² of 1821 yet stated on the edge to be *anno regni tertio*, although the third regnal year did not commence until January 29th, 1822.

William IV.—As in the case of Queen Anne, the coins of this reign, with the exception of a pattern crown, seem as yet to have passed the censor.

Victoria.—In 1849 the first issue of the two-shilling piece appeared and had ever since been known as “the Godless florin,” because the acknowledgment *Dei Gratia* was omitted from the Queen’s title. On a farthing² the first A in *Gratia* was an inverted V. In 1878 a remarkable error occurred, the series of sixpences from Die No. 6 being put into circulation before it was discovered that we ourselves were described upon it as DRITANNIAR:² instead of *Britanniar[um]*.

ORDINARY MEETING

Wednesday, May 24th, 1922.

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS,
Acting-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. E. Bagnall, Mr. Vernon B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., F.S.A., The National Museum of Finland, Major H. Fletcher and Mr. T. V. Hodgson were elected to membership.

¹ Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.

² Mr. E. H. Wheeler.

³ Mr. S. M. Spink.

Exhibitions.

Coins of the Calais Mint in illustration of Professor Walker's paper—

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Edward III. Groat and half-groat of the period 1360–69.

Henry V. Groat, half-groat and penny of the early annulet coinage and mint-mark pierced cross with straight sides.

Henry VI. Groat and half-groat of the earliest issue, the groat reading **πRGLIÆ**. Two later varieties reading **πRGL**, with the corresponding half-groats; also pennies and a halfpenny all with an annulet on each side of the King's bust, and in two quarters of the reverse. Groat and half-groat of the rare variety on which the annulet in the two quarters of the reverse was omitted.

Groat of the annulet-trefoil coinage with the annulets on the obverse as before, but a trefoil on the left side of the King's crown, and an annulet in one quarter only of the reverse. Half-groat and penny of the same issue with trefoil to left of the crown, but with the annulet in two quarters of the reverse; also half-groat with a trefoil after **POSVI** on the reverse, but none on the obverse. Mr. Walters explained that these two half-groats were really "mules"; for the reverse of the second belonged to the obverse of the first, and thus indicated the true coin, which as yet remained undiscovered.

Groat and half-groat of the annulet-rosette issue with the obverse of the annulet coinage, and on the reverse a rosette after **POSVI** and after **αΠΛΙΣΙÆ**.

Groat and half-groat of the rare variety of the early rosette-mascle coinage, with two small mascles in the spandrils of the tressure, one on each side of the bust; on the reverse one after **VIL** and after **ΛΠ**, and a rosette after **POSVI** and after **αΠΛΙΣΙÆ**.

Later varieties of the groats, half-groats, pennies and

halfpenny of the rosette-mascle issue, with the rosettes and mascles on both the obverse and reverse.

Groats, half-groats, pennies—varied—and a halfpenny of the pinecone-mascle coinage, with pinecones and mascles in the legends of both obverse and reverse.

Groat of the pinecone-mascle coinage but with reverse from a die of the annulet coinage.

Groat of the rose-leaf issue with large leaf in the spandril of the tressure beneath the King's bust, and on the reverse a similar leaf at the end of the outer legend, with a mascle between VII and LX .

Two groats of the trefoil coinage with a trefoil at each side of the King's neck and, on the reverse, after VII L X , but one has two, and the other three, trefoils in the obverse legend. Groat with obverse of the trefoil issue as last, but with reverse of the subsequent issue without the trefoil in the legend. Mr. Walters said that these three groats were very rare and unknown before the discovery of the Stamford hoard. They read XIII , instead of the usual XIII L on the London groats, and had the initial cross fleury on both the obverse and reverse, which latter variety was a rare feature on the London groats.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—Edward III. Groat, half-groat and penny.

Henry VI. Groat of the first issue of the annulet coinage.

Groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny of the annulet coinage.

Groat, half-groat, and penny of the rosette-mascle coinage with mint-mark cross ; and groat, half-groat, and halfpenny with mint-mark cross patonce.

Groat and half-groat with obverse of the rosette-mascle, and reverse of the pinecone-mascle coinages. Penny with obverse of the latter and reverse of the former issues. Halfpenny of the pinecone-mascle coinage.

2 A

By Mr. J. Shirley-Fox :—Henry VI. Two late groats with obverses of the trefoil coinage. The reverse of one had a trefoil before $\text{L}\pi$ and after SIE , but that of the other was without marks of any kind.

By Mr. E. H. Wheeler :—Henry VI. Groats of the early and later annulet coinage reading πRGLIE and πRGL .

By Mr. William Dale :—Henry VI. Groat of the pinecone-masle coinage found in Southampton.

Paper.

THE CALAIS MINT, A.D. 1347–1470.

This treatise, by Professor A. Stanley Walker, of King's College, Halifax, U.S.A., represented much original research and historical study, combined with a careful reference to all the numismatic lore available. The subject was divided by him into three main sections: 1, a general historical survey of the fortunes of the Calais mint; 2, an examination of the varied issues from the mint; and 3, a consideration of some of the chief regulations concerning specie and bullion which were designed to increase its trade.

In the first section of the paper it was pointed out that this mint differed from all other cross-Channel mints coining for English kings, in that it was not a French or Anglo-Gallic mint, but as Calais was a purely English town, so the mint there was an English mint, working, at times, even more to supply English needs than Calesian.

So far as the latter were concerned, they were the needs of the wool and fell export trade, for which Calais was the staple town. It was to further this trade that the mint at Calais was originated, and the author attempted to show, by references to staple history, that the periods of activity and depression through which the Calais mint passed were contemporary with, and dependent upon, similar fluctuations in the prosperity of the staple.

The mint charters, as issued to Henry de Brisele on the 1st of March, 1363—the date of the establishment of the Second Staple

Company of Calais—and to Bardet de Malepils of Florence in 1371, were analysed and the business regulations of the mint were detailed.

Such political circumstances as affected both the staple and the mint were given consideration in this section of the paper. It was finally shown that the siege of Calais by Philip of Burgundy in 1436 involved the mint in a collapse from which recovery was impossible, owing to the military strain put upon the town under the captaincy of Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, with the result that it had ceased all activity early in the reign of Edward IV.

In the second section of the paper, after an explanation of the many differences existing between Calesian coins and English coins of similar denominations and values, typical issues were examined from a purely numismatic point of view. Here again historical influences on the coinage were indicated, as, for example, the omission, by Edward III, of the title **REX FRANC'** during the period of the truce of 1360–1369.

The third section of the paper dealt with the artificial means, by which the government attempted to force the trade of the mint in Calais, by the issue of various regulations and restrictions concerning specie, bullion, and currency, in accordance with the economic theories of the time. This was followed by the quotation of a protest from the suffering merchants against such legislation—for even in the fourteenth century the business man had an appreciation of a free gold market. It was, however, a protest which was ignored; to which fact, perhaps, as much as to anything, the Calais mint finally owed its dissolution.

Included in the paper was a full description of all the known issues, in gold as well as in silver, of the money from the Calais mint; and in this the author acknowledges technical assistance from Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., and from other experts in the study of that important branch of mediæval numismatics.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, June 28th, 1922.

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS,
Acting-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Francis, who spoke in feeling terms, addressed the large gathering of Members as follows :—

At this very moment I had hoped to have vacated the Chair, and to have introduced to this meeting as our President one who has been aptly described as the "Godfather of the Society," Mr. John Sanford Saltus.

Instead, I have the very sad task to perform of formally announcing to you the sudden and tragic death of our President on Thursday night last, on the very eve of that little celebration in his honour, which he had accepted with keen pleasure, and in the happy words of a letter which I shall ask Mr. Andrew presently to read to you.

The sudden death in ordinary circumstances of a man after a long life of usefulness, which has brought him many honours, should not, in itself, be a subject for unusual regret ; but to us who remain, who had hoped to have entertained him to-night, and to collectively and formally express our gratitude to him for those many acts of generosity which have gone so far to make our Society what it is, it is a keen and poignant loss that is not lessened by the tragic circumstance that it was practically attributable to that science in which we and he were so closely associated.

From almost its very inception the Society has benefited by his liberality and thoughtfulness, and it is not too much to say that in Mr. Saltus we have lost one of our best friends.

The John Sanford Saltus medal, as its name implies, owes its existence entirely to him, and it is a melancholy satisfaction at this moment to feel that as he had honoured us by endowing it, so have we honoured him by its bestowal on the five

distinguished Members of the Society who have been selected to receive it prior to his death; and I venture to think that few awards of a similar nature have been better deserved, or more worthily bestowed, than has this, our own little tribute to learning and research, which we—not he—named after him whose loss we mourn to-night.

There are certain formalities which our rules require that we shall proceed with, but they will be very brief, and immediately on their conclusion I shall move the adjournment of this Meeting as a mark of respect to our late President.

I now formally beg to move the following resolution :—

“ The Acting-President having reported his attendance and evidence at the inquest, when he was accompanied by Mr. E. H. Wheeler, a Member of the Council, and a verdict of ‘ Death by misadventure ’ was returned, the British Numismatic Society has learned with the deepest regret the sudden and tragic death of its President, John Sanford Saltus; and at this Meeting, over which he was to have presided for the first time, which was to have been followed by another function specially arranged in his honour, it desires to place on record its deep sense of the loss it has sustained in the death of one to whom it owes so much, and who will ever be held in grateful memory.

“ Further, that the Secretary be requested to convey to Mr. Saltus’s relatives and friends, and to the American Numismatic Society, of which Mr. Saltus was Honorary Governor, a copy of this resolution, with the heartfelt condolences of this Society.

“ Also to arrange for the Society to be represented, and a memorial wreath devoted, at the funeral in America.”

Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson, in seconding the resolution, spoke of the long friendship he and many Members present had shared with Mr. Saltus, and the affection in which he was held by all those who had had that privilege.

The Members and all who were present then stood, and the resolution was passed in profound silence.

Mr. Andrew read the letter referred to by Mr. Francis, which he said was the last of many received from a very old friend ; but, as Members would understand, it was written also to the Society, and referred to the intended proceedings of that evening :—

HOTEL METROPOLE,
LONDON.

June 17th, 1922.

DEAR MR. ANDREW,

Your letter really overwhelmed me ! Why, the reception you are going to give me at our Society is like the Welcome to the Prince of Wales ! There is only one thing I am not quite clear on, and that is where and at what time am I to first meet you on June 28th ? Please drop me a line soon and let me know. I have not been very well lately, but am much better now, and will be quite fit in a short time. I hope to stay over some time on this side, but may have to return to the U.S. sooner than I expected, that is, in a month or two ; but all this has nothing to do with the Meeting, and I am sure to be there. It will be an evening the memory of which I will always cherish. You can't understand how the great kindness you have all shown me has touched my heart.

Yours most truly,

J. S. SALTUS.

Formal Business.

The Secretary announced that, under the rules, it had been necessary for the Council to elect a President before that Meeting was held ; and that it had unanimously elected Mr. Francis for the remainder of the current year.

Mr. Francis reserved his acknowledgment of the honour for a future and happier occasion. He explained that only because the eightieth birthday of Sir Henry H. Howorth was on Saturday next, and it was the wish of the Members to then offer their congratulations,

and to present him with the Freedom of the Society in recognition of his great work, during a long lifetime, in the cause of numismatic science, by electing him an Honorary Member, would the ballot be taken that evening. But that being so, he thought it only fair to include the election of the London Library to membership.

The ballot was then taken in silence, and Sir Henry Hoyle Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., was unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society ; and the London Library to membership.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, October 25th, 1922.

Mr. GRANT R. FRANCIS,

President, in the Chair.

Mr. Francis expressed his deep appreciation of the honour conferred upon him by his election to the presidency of the Society for the period which, to their sorrow, had been rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Saltus.

Mr. Andrew, as Secretary, reported that Mrs. Robert James Campbell, of New York, a Life Member of the Society and the lady to whom Mr. Saltus was engaged to be married, had most kindly represented the Society at his funeral, and had written of the wreath which she had ordered at the request of the Council, "Your wreath was beautiful, and I had the inscription you sent me put on the wide ribbon in dull gold letters. Mr. Saltus was buried with all the honours that a man of his standing deserved."

Mr. Andrew also read a letter from Sir Henry Howorth thanking the Members for his election as an Honorary Member upon the occasion of his recent eightieth birthday ; in which he remarked, "The British Numismatic Society has filled a real gap in a very successful way, and its crimson volumes make a fine show on the shelf, and contain much wisdom. I hope that its future will be as successful as its past."

On the nomination of the President, Mr. W. Beresford Smith and Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler were appointed Auditors of the accounts of the Society for the current year.

Mr. Thomas Morley Cunningham was elected a Member.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—The silver penny of the Empress Matilda, described by Mr. Andrew in his address that evening.

Henry I. Penny of Hawkins 263, reading **†DERMAN ON LVND**. Derman was previously known only on Henry's last type, Hawkins 255.

By Mr. E. H. Wheeler, in illustration of the lecture :—Stephen. Hawkins 271. Three examples, from the Roth, Rashleigh, and Reynolds collections. Hawkins 280. The coin illustrated in Lord Pembroke's Catalogue, privately published in 1746. Hawkins 281. The coin from the Reynolds collection. Hawkins 282. All these coins were exhibited at Mr. Andrew's request because of their clear and beautiful state of preservation.

By Mr. W. N. Hobson of Nottingham, through Mr. S. J. Kirk of the Nottingham Public Library :—Early British stater of the gold coinage of the Icenii in the first century B.C., Evans XIV, 12; and a copper coin of the third century B.C., of Panticapæum, a Greek city of the Crimea, Minns V, 19. Found together on the Norfolk coast.

By Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton :—Edward III. Durham penny with the peculiar contraction for *et* associated with his latest coins.¹

Richard II. Durham penny; groat with the same contraction for *et*, and legend ending **RRTRDIE' . D'**; and similar groat, but **RRTRD'**.

Henry IV. Light groat with the slipped trefoil on the king's left breast, although of the later type of bust; and light

¹ Illustrated in volume x, p. 125. of the *Journal*.

penny of York with star and annulet on the breast, from an obverse die of probably local origin.

Edward IV. Heavy groat of London, with mint-mark large rose, quatrefoils at the neck and crescent on the breast; similar half-groat, but with a small rose for the reverse mint-mark, and an eye after the syllable **TKS**; and a heavy half-groat of London with mint-mark small rose, annulet on each side of the neck, and eye after **TKS**.

Charles I. An unusually well-preserved example of the "Combe-Martin" half-crown.

By Mr. F. A. Walters:—Henry VII. Profile groat with mint-marks, obverse, lys, reverse, greyhound's head; no numerals after the king's name; similar groat, but with the numerals; and profile half-groat with mint-mark lys but no numerals—a variety of which he believed only three examples were known.

By Miss Helen Farquhar:—A variety measuring 1.2 inches in diameter—instead of the usual 1.05, of the counter to Gustavus Adolphus and his Queen, *Medallic Illustrations* I, 379–280, but believed to have been made in England; also the usual example for comparison.

Lecture.

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN—*continued.*

Mr. Andrew said that they were indebted to Mr. Taffs for exhibiting an unusually fine silver penny of the Empress Matilda, of the variety of Hawkins 633, which had hitherto been represented only by Mr. Baldwin's coin, the subject of his address last November. Both were from the same pair of dies and, read together, they gave the legends, obverse, **:[M I]MPERA•**, reverse, **•RODBERD : DE : BRI[STO]V•** = Bristol, which added a new moneyer's name and a new spelling to the mint, but the form *Bristou* occurred in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II.

Hawkins 628, the interesting coin of this reign reading **✠ ADAM • ON WIVELCE**, was still attributed by numismatists to Wiveliscombe, yet the termination —**CE** should alone have claimed a mint-name for it ending in —*ceaster*. The same rules that governed the transition of the Norman spellings Gulielmus, Guarinus, Gualterus and Guido to English Willelmus, Warinus, Walterus and Wido, applied equally to place-names. Thus Gipeswic passed through the stages Wipeswic and Ypeswic to modern Ipswich and, as Mr. Lawrence deduced from a comparison of the moneyers, appeared as **WIPeswic** on the earliest coins of Henry II. So, therefore, if we carried the rule also to Ilchester, from the old form *Givelceaster* of Domesday and our early Norman coins, the spelling **WIVELCEaster** should evolve about Stephen's time, exactly as upon this coin, on its way to the *Yvelcester* of Henry II's Pipe Rolls and the Ilchester of to-day. If further proof be needed it would be found in the fact that the then unusual name **ADAM** was still that of Ilchester's moneyer at the commencement of the following reign.

Turning to "the Flag Type," Hawkins 271, which substituted a flag and star of victory for the usual sceptre in Stephen's right hand, Mr. Andrew agreed that it was a medallion issue commemorating the "Battle of the Standard," which was fought in 1138 by the forces of the Archbishop of York beneath the Banner of St. Peter, mounted on a ship's mast and set in a wagon. This gave its name at the time to the victory, which saved York itself from Scottish devastation.

On these coins, in the place of the usual reverse legend, was a series of small figures, such as the annulet of York, stars, shields, half-moons, and quatrefoils interspersed with letters, which had always been assumed to be merely ornamental and meaningless. But he had noticed that whilst the letters differed on the various dies of the series, their grouping and order were consistently maintained, and he believed that they represented, by familiar contractions, or merely selected letters by die-sinkers unaccustomed to Latin, some then well-known sentence from the Thanksgiving Service which was tendered to St. Peter as the Patron and Spiritual Lord

of the Church and city of York, in honour of the victory under his banner. The key was to be found in the earliest seal of York, which dated from a very few years later than these coins, and in some details, such as the triple colons for stops which occurred on both, it suggested almost the same craftsman's hand. The flag, too, borne by St. Peter upon it was exactly the same, even to the three streamers, and its inscriptions, as they would see, completed the comparison, for they were **✠ S' Beati PETRI PRINCIPIS APOSTOLORum**, and **✠ SIGILLVM CIVIVM EBORACI**—the small letters in italics here, and later, being his extensions of the contracted words.

For the comparison he would select the six main varieties, which included the three kindly exhibited by Mr. Wheeler, of the few coins that had survived to us of the series. Eliminating the ornaments except the initial cross, they read as in the table below; but the first coin, one of Mr. Wheeler's, retained the usual English form of the regular issues of York, namely, **ON EV:** for "of Everwic"; which suggested that it was from an early die: and two or three of the letters on the coins were inverted or reversed, but the order of all was as shown.

The letters, as on the coins.

1. **✠ VI DN ESI ON EV :**
2. **✠ VI DN ITS ER**
3. **✠ PTI ECS DN V :**
4. **MAN ES E**
5. **✠ DV I DM BE**
6. **DM P BE DM ESI**

The suggested extensions.

1. **✠ VIctoria DomiNi EccleSIæ
ON EVerwic**
2. **✠ VIctoria DomiNi civITatiS
EboRaci**
3. **✠ PeTrI ECcleSIæ DomiNi
EVerwic**
4. **MANu [Petri Domini] EccleSIæ
Eboraci**
5. **✠ ManV [Petri] eCclesiæ DoMini
BEati**
6. **Manu Petri BEati DoMini
EccleSIæ**

These six coins, therefore, when read together seemed to postulate some such original formula, as **VIctoria MANV BEati PeTrI DoMini ECCleSIæ civITatiS EboRaci**.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Thursday, November 30th, 1922.

MR. GRANT R. FRANCIS,
President, in the Chair.

The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was elected to membership.

Mr. Ronald Montagu Simon and Mr. Coleman P. Hyman were appointed Scrutators for the ballot of Officers and Council that evening.

Exhibitions.

A special exhibition of numismatic and medallic art treasures was held, from which the following items are selected as typical of its varied and interesting character :—

By Dr. Herbert Peck :—Early British ; the coin and ring described in his paper.

By Mr. Baldwin, with references to the British Museum Catalogue ; silver pennies of :—

Ethelred II : type I, variety *c*, four crosses pattées around the central cross. Type I, variety *e*, large bust of the King dividing the legend. Type II, variety *b*, the letters alpha and omega transposed. Neither type I*e* nor type II*b* was represented in the National Collection.

Canute : type VIII, variety *b*, bust in quatrefoil with sceptre. Bust to left diademed instead of crowned.

Stephen : type VII, in support of Mr. Andrew's attribution of the coin illustrated as Hawkins 628 to the mint of Ilchester at the preceding Meeting, obverse, **✠STIEFNE**, reverse **✠ADAM [:O]N :PIFELE [I, or perhaps S]**, that is, Wifelec[easter] for Ilchester.

By Mr. Andrew :—Edward the Confessor : obverse **+ EDPRD RE**, reverse **+ GODPINE ON SER.**, Salisbury, of Hildebrand type C, variety *a* ; a variety which Hildebrand believed,

p. 461, to be represented by a single coin of the London mint.

By Mr. F. A. Walters:—Henry VII: shilling, **HE**~~N~~**R**~~R~~**I**~~C~~**A**~~V~~**S**, mint-marks lys, and lys in the forks of the reverse cross. Shilling, **HE**~~N~~**R**~~R~~**I**~~C~~**A** **SEPTIM**, with the same mint-marks but slipped trefoil in the forks of the cross. Charles I: pattern for a half-crown, or a memorial, by Thomas Rawlins; cast and chased, reverse engraved. *Medallic Illustrations*, i, Plate xxxiii, No. 18.

By Mr. Edgar M. Burnett:—The official seal-matrix of the Papal Chamberlain, **CARD · VITELLIVS · S · R · E · CAMER-ARIVS · VITELLOTIVS · S · M · IN · VIA · LATA · DIAC**, in bronze, oval, 4 by 2½ inches; a beautiful work of renaissance art. Stamped over the design are at least two coats-of-arms showing that it was used by successive chamberlains. Vitelli Vitellozzo was Cardinal Deacon of S. Maria, in the Via Lata, from A.D. 1564 to 1568.

By the Rev. Edgar Rogers:—An unusually early betrothal ring in gold, with an interesting inscription, dated 1609.

By Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler:—The following remarkable series of the varied silver issues of Charles I, all selected for their beauty and rarity:—

Charles I. Pound-pieces in silver. Of Oxford, with scroll reverse. Declaration between two lines. Cannon amongst the arms beneath the horse. Of Shrewsbury, with one plume only on the reverse.

Half-pounds. Of Oxford, Hawkins, types I and II, Oxford “muled” with Shrewsbury, unnoticed by Hawkins. Of Shrewsbury, with reverse mint-mark nine pellets.

Crowns. The Rawlins Oxford crown. Tower, mint-mark bell on obverse and reverse. Shrewsbury “muled” with Oxford, mint-mark seven pellets. Shrewsbury, with no mint-marks.

Half-crowns. Tower, with plume only on the horse's head. With a crowned rose on the housing. Chester, mint-mark prostrate gerb. Weymouth, W beneath the horse. Shrewsbury, one plume only on the reverse.

Shillings. Tower, with the bust piercing the inner circle. Bust with long hair and lace collar, no inner circle. Of Aberystwith. Of Lundy Isle. Of Oxford, with the date in curved figures. Of York, with square shield.

Sixpences. With lyre-shaped terminations to the reverse cross. Aberystwith, no inner circles. Aberystwith "muled" with Oxford. Exeter, date divided by rose. Nicholas Briot's. Lundy Isle, scroll over the declaration. York, with oval shield.

Groats. Aberystwith, with small shield and large plume. With large shield and small plume. The "Combe Martin." Of Lundy Isle.

Threepences. The "Combe Martin." Weymouth. Lundy Isle.

Half-groats. Tower. Aberystwith. Bristol. "Combe Martin." Exeter. Oxford.

Pennies. Oxford, plume in centre of the reverse. The declaration type. Aberystwith, large plume in centre of the reverse. Exeter, IVS THRO FIRMAT, rose in the centre.

Halfpennies. Aberystwith. Tower.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon:—An interesting exhibition illustrative of the influence of medallic art upon every-day articles in Stuart times. Copper discs bearing the arms of James I in enamel. A bronze official mortar upon which the arms of the Commonwealth, exactly as upon the money, were reproduced four times. Tobacco stoppers in brass bearing the portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria,

after the medal by Thomas Rawlins; of Charles I with Queen Anne, and of Charles II, from their medals. Snuff-box bearing the portrait of Queen Mary II in pressed horn, which Miss H. Farquhar thought was by Nicholas Chevalier, the artist responsible for her marriage medal of 1677.

By Miss Helen Farquhar:—Three cases of beautiful badges, medals, and relics in gold and silver, of the Stuart period.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher:—A collection of 180 seventeenth-century tokens of Dublin, being, with the following eight exceptions, the complete series. Those wanting are Henry Aston, James Cleere, "Will" Fleory, "Jo" Hayens, "Allin" Jones, William Myllis, Thomas Or . . ., and John Tottie, Bridgfoote.

By Mr. Grant R. Francis:—A royal signet ring of gold with the jugate portraits of William and Mary beautifully cut in carnelian, as on their early coinage and medals; in perfect condition.

By Mr. Coleman P. Hyman:—The seal-matrix of the Chancellor of the Diocese of Norwich, A.D. 1700.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs:—The beautiful Tassie gem with the head of Nelson. Obituary medal of Van Tromp. Medalet of Admiral Vernon and C. B., probably Commodore Brown. Charles I.—The strip of four royal farthings, with mint-mark rose, from the Pownall, Caldecott and Hoblyn collections.

By Mr. Winter for Mr. S. M. Spink:—Cases of 154 English gold medals commemorating historical events from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Anne; and of many varied and interesting silver badges of the Civil Wars of Charles I. Also, by request, the following series of decorations and medals:—

The Hon. East India Company's medal for Seringapatam.

The bronze star, with silver centre, for Maharajpooor, 1843, and for Punniar, 1843.

Lord Roberts's march, Kabul to Kandahar, 1880.

Khedivial star for Egypt, 1882.

Ashanti star, 1896.

Khedivial medal for the Sudan War.

Indian General Service medal with bar, Chin-Lushai, 1889-90.

India General Service, 1895, with three bars for campaigns, 1897-98.

The British Nigeria Company's medal with bar, Nigeria.

Camp followers' medal, Boer War.

Queen Victoria's Jubilee, Metropolitan Police medal, 1887.

Edward VII's Coronation, Metropolitan Police medal, 1902.

Edward VII's visit to Ireland, 1903.

The 1914-15 Star.

The Victory medal, 1914-19.

Edward VII, Kumassi.—Bust in high relief. Bust in low relief.

The New Zealand Long-Service medal.

The Miners' gold medal of the Hamstead Colliery disaster, 1908.

Group, the Boer War and Edward VII, New Zealand Volunteers, twelve years' service.

By Mr. William Dale :—A manuscript volume in French, neatly bound in vellum as a pocket-book, being the handbook of some eighteenth-century collector, valuer, or purchaser, of Roman coins ; for every type and variety then known of the series is described and indexed, and its rarity reduced for practical purposes to the value in francs.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—An Indian war medal in lead issued by a Rajah to his native soldiers in the first half of the last century.

By Mr. A. E. Bagnall :—Three draughts of pressed boxwood from dies by Martin Brunner.

*Paper.*A FIND OF ROMAN DENARII AND AN EARLY BRITISH COIN AT
ASHOVER, DERBYSHIRE.

Dr. Herbert Peck, Corresponding Member of the Council for the Chesterfield district, contributed the following interesting report :—

“ In April, 1922, a man happening to climb to a recess or shallow cave in the cliff above the East Wood, Ashover, found a coin of reddish colour, which, however, was broken in cleaning and was thrown away. Two of his sons and another boy climbed to the place, which is difficult of access, on June the 18th, and found about forty more. These they cleaned as best they could, disputing over the apportionment of the spoil. One of them then appealed to the local policeman, who at once took possession of the coins as treasure trove. Hearing of the find I made some enquiries, and then wrote to the Chief Constable of the County, who kindly ordered them to be handed to me for identification.

Some of them requiring more technical knowledge than I possess, I consulted Mr. W. Sharp Ogden, F.S.A., who has been so kind as to assist me to identify them, and his report is to the following effect :—

They are all, with one exception, Roman denarii, or Antoniniani, the latter being larger in fabric but very debased. They cover a period of about fifty years, and none are of scarce types.

They comprise the following :—

Septimus Severus	..	..	..	..	..	3
Julia Domna	..	..	..	..	..	2
Caracalla ..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Elagabalus	..	..	..	..	..	8
Severus Alexander	..	..	..	..	..	19
Julia Mamæa	..	..	..	..	..	2
Maximinus	..	..	..	..	..	3
Gordianus..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Total						<hr/> 42 <hr/>

2 B

The exception mentioned above is a very small coin of rather base silver, of Ancient-British origin, but it is impossible to give more than an approximate tribal attribution to it, although it probably belongs to the Iceni, or some tribe between the Iceni and the Brigantes. It is much smaller but very similar to the base gold coin shown in *Evans*, plate D, no. 9: and for the present purpose it may be given to a northern branch of the Iceni. Its description is: Obverse:—Remains of a laureated head. Reverse:—Horse with pellets. A very small coin of base silver.

The policeman climbed to the site of the hoard, and was rewarded by the discovery of a silver ring, which I exhibit, and I think that it bears traces of letters upon it. I also, in turn, visited the site, and found that the ring and coins had been lying in a niche between two large stones, where they were protected from damp and exposure. Probably they were in a leather bag when they were hidden, but this had perished, and they were covered only by a little soil. Many of them are worn by use, but they are otherwise in a good state of preservation."

A vote of thanks was moved from the Chair and accorded to Dr. Peck for his communication.

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

Mr. Andrew, as Secretary, presented the following Report of the Council for the year 1922:—

This, our Nineteenth Annual Report to the Members, is the saddest we have presented, because during the year we have lost our honoured President and friend, the late John Sanford Saltus, but his memory will last so long as British numismatics exist and the pages of our *Journal* are read. But we must be content to endorse the words in which Mr. Francis voiced the feelings of all of us at the Meeting held on June 28th, in moving from the Chair the tribute due to Mr. Saltus's memory—a Meeting which we had looked forward to as a meeting of welcome, to be followed by a

dinner to be given in his honour as President, and for which every preparation had been made.

It is with deep regret that we have noted the death of our Honorary Member, the popular Marquis de Soveral, whose interest in, and knowledge of art were rarely surpassed. Also that from the same cause we have lost the following seven Members during the year :—

Mr. J. H. Chalmers, an original Member.

Mr. Frederick A. Crisp, F.S.A., an original Member ; a Vice-President, 1904 ; and Member of the Council, 1905 and 1906.

Mr. Alexander Goodall, an original Member.

Mr. William Eare Hidden, of New Jersey, a Member since 1908.

Mr. Thomas Edward Hodgkin, a Member since 1913.

Mr. Maurice Rosenheim, F.S.A., a Member since 1909.

Mr. Frederick Willson Yeates, who joined the Society in 1904, and was recently the author of the very important paper on the " Coinage of Ireland " in Vol. XV.

The eightieth birthday of Sir Henry Hoyle Howorth, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., on July 1st, was an opportune occasion for the presentation to him of the Freedom of the Society, which was awarded in the form of his unanimous election as an Honorary Member by the ballot of the Members. He has been a Member of our Society since 1913, and is the doyen of English numismatists.

Six Members have resigned, and the names of sixteen, an accumulation of several years, have been removed by the advice of our Honorary Treasurer in rectifying the List of Members.

On the other hand, the following eighteen new Members have been welcomed by the Society during the year :—

Mr. Hugh Neville Bagot.

Mr. A. E. Bagnall.

Mr. Edgar M. Burnett.

Mrs. Robert James Campbell, of New York.
Mr. Vernon B. Crowther-Benyon, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
Mr. Thomas Morley Cunnington.
Mr. G. S. Elliston, M.C., M.A.
Major H. Fletcher.
The National Museum of Finland.
Mr. Harrold Edgar Gillingham.
Mr. Thomas Vere Hodgson.
The London Library, Dr. A. Hagberg Wright, Librarian.
Mr. A. J. Morris.
The Ashmolean Museum, Dr. D. A. Hogarth, C.M.G., M.A.,
F.S.A., Keeper.
Mr. William Waite Sanderson, C.B.E.
Major Henry Charles Verner.
The National Library of Wales, Mr. John Ballinger, M.A.,
Librarian.
Mr. Frank Warren.

Therefore the Society now consists of 18 Royal, 6 Honorary, and 320 Members, total 344.

Mr. Grant R. Francis had, at the request of the Council, presided at all the meetings of the Society during the absence in New York of Mr. Saltus, for it was understood that the latter would not be in England until the June meeting. It was, therefore, to Mr. Francis that we looked to carry on the Society for the rest of the year as efficiently as he had conducted its affairs down to that date. We had no hesitation in appointing him President until this Anniversary Meeting, when you, the Members, will, we know, endorse our choice with your fullest support, for he has earned it.

Early in the year Mr. A. C. Hutchins, F.C.A., expressed his wish to be released from the duties of Honorary Treasurer, and Members will join us in according to him the Society's gratitude for the many years during which he has managed its financial affairs.

Sir William Wells, F.S.A., was appointed to the office. He is well known to you all, and we feel sure that he will receive your

unanimous confirmation as the Society's Honorary Treasurer. At his suggestion the various funds, with the exception of the John Sanford Saltus Medal Fund, which is governed by its own rules, have been consolidated into one fund under the heading "The General Purposes Fund," and the accounts much simplified. Sir William Wells will present and explain these, and no doubt his accounts will be as clear and as satisfactory to you as they are to us.

Mr. Parsons as Librarian deserves the thanks of the Society for his always efficient management of that branch of its work.

Vol. XV of the *Journal* was issued in the spring of the year, and with its varied papers, comprising altogether 400 pages, in addition to the many plates, seems to have given general satisfaction. Members will remember that a bound work of this size and quality, under the present conditions of printing, costs per copy very nearly double the subscriptions they pay. Therefore at present it is being issued at intervals of eighteen instead of twelve months, and the excess in cost is supplied from the income of the Society's invested funds. Vol. XVI will, therefore, be due at our next Anniversary Meeting.

In this relation we should acknowledge the special contributions, subscriptions and benefits the Society has received during the year, and our thanks are due to Miss Farquhar, Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Evans, R.G.A., and Dr. Cassal; also to Mr. H. Ling Roth, Mr. S. M. Spink, Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, Messrs. Glendining, and the University of Christiania for additions to the Library.

The attendance at our meetings is, we are pleased to say, steadily increasing. The papers read fully maintain the Society's reputation, and the exhibitions are always numerous and interesting.

To Mr. W. Beresford Smith and Mr. Wheeler we owe our thanks for acting as Auditors of the Society's accounts for the year, and to Mr. Coleman P. Hyman and Mr. Ronald Montagu Simon for undertaking the duties of Scrutators for the ballot this evening.

Owing to the claims of his business Mr. Frank Higgins, Clerk to the Council, finds it impossible to attend the Council meetings now that they are held in the afternoon, and he has reluctantly had to tender his resignation after many years of much valued and efficient service. We regret this the more because of the keen interest Mr. Higgins has always taken in the affairs and object of the Society, and the willing help he has always given its Members. We feel that these are not the days when any opportunity for economy should be missed, and therefore we have the more gratefully accepted the generous offer of Miss D. H. Andrews, who has occasionally attended our meetings, to undertake, in an honorary capacity, the duties hitherto performed by Mr. Higgins, and the latter has offered her every assistance during the opening stages of her office.

May we, in conclusion, appeal to you, the Members generally, to spread the aims and objects of the Society over a wider field ; for the historical study of British numismatics is not only interesting, but it is also educational, and it is due entirely to this that even the very names of many of our early kings have found their way into the history of this country. If you will join us in bringing the *Journal* and our objects to the notice of friends who are interested with you in similar pursuits, you will be serving a good cause, and we hope that thereby sufficient new Members will join us to enable the *Journal* once more to be issued annually, for that is an objective which is always before us.

Sir William Wells, as Honorary Treasurer, having presented and explained his accounts for the year as duly audited, the Council's Report and the Accounts were unanimously adopted.

At the instance of the President, who congratulated Sir William Wells upon his lucid report of the financial status of the Society, votes of thanks were accorded to him, to the Auditors, Mr. W. Beresford Smith and Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler, to the Scrutators, Mr. Coleman P. Hyman and Mr. Ronald Montagu Simon, and to the numerous Exhibitors who had so pleasantly conducted to the success of that meeting and its predecessors during the year.

The ballot having been taken, the Scrutators reported that the list of Members nominated by the Council had been elected, namely :—

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1923.

President :—Grant R. Francis.

Vice-Presidents :—Stanley Bousfield, M.A., M.D. ; Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., F.S.A. ; Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A. ; L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A. ; Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A. ; W. Sharp Ogden, F.S.A.

Director :—Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.

Treasurer :—Sir William Wells, F.S.A.

Librarian :—H. Alexander Parsons.

Secretary :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

Council :—Edgar M. Burnett ; R. T. Cassal ; V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A. ; William Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S. ; Miss Helen Farquhar ; Lionel L. Fletcher ; G. Hamilton-Smith ; Richard C. Lockett, F.S.A. ; Walter L. Pocock ; The Rev. Edgar Rogers, O.B.E., M.A. ; R. Montagu Simon ; W. Beresford Smith ; H. W. Taffs ; Ernest H. Wheeler, Charles Winter.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1922.

[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET, November 18th, 1922.

<i>Liabilities.</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	<i>Assets.</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To subscriptions received in advance				2	2	0	By investments at cost or book value—						
„ audit fee due				5	5	0	£300 National War Bonds						
„ <i>J. Sanford Sallus Medal Fund</i> —							5 per cent., 1927	300	0	0			
Capital Account per contra...				161	16	2	Less £190 1s. 7d. National						
Income Account, dividends							War Bonds 5 per cent.,						
received	9	9	8				1927, sold for	200	0	0			
Less overspent in 1921 ...	0	6	3				£108 18s. 5d. National War						
				9	3	5	Bonds... ..	100	0	0			
„ <i>General Purposes Fund</i> —							£150 National War Bonds, 5						
As per Balance Sheet,							per cent., 1928	150	0	0			
November 18th, 1921 ...	546	8	8				£1,050 Consols, 2½ per cent. ...	577	10	0			
Research Fund transferred...	271	9	0				£500 New South Wales 4						
Accumulated Fund, trans-							per cent., 1933	503	4	6			
ferred	724	3	4				£213 1s. 1d. India 3½ per cent.						
							Stock	200	0	0			
	1,542	1	0										
Surplus for year transferred							<i>J. Sanford Sallus Medal Fund</i> —	1,530	14	6			
from Income and Expen-							£166 14s. 11d. India 3½ per cent.						
diture Account	210	11	9				Stock per contra	161	16	2			
				1,752	12	9	The market value of the above						
							as at November 11th, 1922,				1,692	10	8
							was £1,557 2s.						
							„ Library, at cost—						
							As per Balance Sheet,						
							November 18th, 1921 ...	141	17	0			
							Additions during year... ..	5	12	0			
											147	9	0
							„ Cash at Bank				90	19	8
											£1,930	19	4

AUDITORS' REPORT.

We beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. Nothing has been reserved in the accounts for the cost of Volume XVI of the *Journal* and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of the Society, and are of opinion that, subject to the above remarks, the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us as shown by the books of the Society.

November 20th, 1922.

GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,
30, Throgmorton Street, London, E.C. 2.
Approved on behalf of the Society, W. BERESFORD SMITH } *Auditors*.
ERNEST HENRY WHEELER }

LISTS OF MEMBERS
OF
The British Numismatic Society
ON
JANUARY 1ST, 1925.

PATRON: HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

ROYAL MEMBERS.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

In Alphabetical Order.

HIS MAJESTY ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.
HIS MAJESTY CHRISTIAN X., KING OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN LOUISE OF DENMARK.
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII., KING OF NORWAY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII., KING OF SPAIN.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SPAIN.
HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV, KING OF SWEDEN.
HER MAJESTY VICTORIA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN.
HIS MAJESTY KING MANUEL II.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

In Order of Election.

1903. SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Deputy
Keeper of the Public Records, 61, Warwick Square, London, S.W. 1.
1905. THE COUNTESS OF YARBOROUGH, BARONESS FAUCONBERG, BARONESS CONYERS,
Brocklesbury Park, Lincolnshire.
1905. VERNON HORACE RENDALL, Esq., B.A., 15, Wellesley Mansions, Kensington,
London, W.
1911. ALFRED ANSCOMBE, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 30, Albany Road, London, N. 4.
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MEMBERS.

*The sign * signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

1905. *A ABABRELTON, ROBERT, Esq., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S., Post Box, 322, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa; 30, Killyon Road, Clapham Rise, London, S.W. 4.
1921. ABBOTT, DR. G. H., President of the Australian Numismatic Society, 185, Macquarie Street, Sydney, Australia.
1904. ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian, Aberdeen.
1907. ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, P. J. Anderson, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Librarian, Aberdeen.
1906. AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York.
1903. ANDREW, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., The Old House, Michelmersh, near Romsey, Hampshire.
1923. ANDREWS, MISS D. H., Richmond House, St. Andrew's Square, Surbiton, Surrey.
1906. ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
1915. ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, Edinburgh, J. Graham Callander, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary.
1904. ARMSTRONG, FRANK, Esq., 88 and 90, Deansgate, Manchester.
1903. ASHBY, JOHN, Esq., J.P., The Close, Staines, Middlesex.
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1922. BAGNALL, A. E., Esq., 3, Castle Road, Shipley, Yorkshire.
1922. BAGOT, HUGH NEVILLE, Esq., 5, Vale Royal, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.
1903. BAIN, R. DONALD, Esq., Poyle Manor, Colnbrook, Buckinghamshire.
1905. BAIRD, THE REV. DR. ANDREW B., 247, Colony Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
1903. BALDWIN, A. H., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, London, W.C. 2.
1923. BALDWIN, A. H. F., Esq., 40, Craven Street, London, W.C. 2.
1903. BALDWIN, PERCY J. D., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, London, W.C. 2.
1923. BARKER, A. LEIGH, Esq., Spreacombe Manor, Braunton, Devonshire.
1909. BARNARD, PROFESSOR FRANCIS PIERREPONT, M.A., D.Litt. Oxon., F.S.A., Bilsby House, near Alford, Lincolnshire, Hon. Curator of the Coins and Medals of the University of Oxford.
1904. *BARNARD, ROBERT, Esq., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., c/o Messrs. Gibson and Weldon, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.

1903. *BARNES, ALFRED W., Esq., 93, Fairlight Road, Hastings.
1921. BARNETT, THOMAS G., Esq., F.S.A., Monument Farm, Rednal, near Birmingham.
1907. BARRETT, SIDNEY EDWARD, Esq., B.A., M.B., F.Z.S., The Limes, Tillingham, near Southminster, Essex.
1903. BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., Esq., B.A., St. Margaret's, Malvern.
1903. BEAUMONT, EDWARD, Esq., M.A., 1, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C. 2.
1910. BELFAST LIBRARY AND SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING KNOWLEDGE, F. J. P. Burgoyne, Esq., Librarian, Linen Hall Library, Donegal Square North, Belfast.
1909. BELFAST CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, J. B. Goldsbrough, Esq., Chief Librarian, Belfast, Ireland.
1903. BELOE, E. M., Esq., F.S.A., Chase Lodge, King's Lynn.
1911. BERRY, JAMES, Esq., F.R.C.S., 21, Wimpole Street, London, W. 1.
1923. BEST, JOHN, Esq., 5, Balfour Road, Southport, Lancashire.
1904. BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, John Shepherd, Esq., Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead.
1914. BIRKIN, LIEUT.-COLONEL R. LESLIE, D.S.O., J.P., Edale House, The Park, Nottingham.
1906. BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Reference Department, Walter Powell, Esq., Chief Librarian, Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1904. BLACKBURN FREE LIBRARY, MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY, THE, R. Ashton, Esq., Librarian and Curator.
1924. BLES, JOSEPH, Esq., 60, North Gate, Regent's Park, London, N.W.
1904. BODKIN, SIR ARCHIBALD HENRY, 5, Paper Buildings, Temple, London, E.C. 4.
1906. BOILEAU, LIEUT.-COLONEL RAYMOND FREDERIC, J.P., Ketteringham Park, Wymondham, Norfolk.
1907. BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, THE, C. H. Hunt, Esq., Librarian and Curator, Oriel Road, Bootle, Lancashire.
1904. BOUSFIELD, STANLEY, Esq., M.A., M.D., B.C., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 10, Albion Street, Hyde Park, London, W. 2.
1903. *BOWLES, COLONEL HENRY FERRYMAN, M.A., J.P., Forty Hall, Enfield, Middlesex.
1903. *BRAND, VIRGIL M., Esq., 1251, Elston Avenue, Chicago, U.S.A.
1910. BRIGG, M. ALFRED, Esq., Carlinghow, Batley, Yorkshire.
1904. BRIGHTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, Henry D. Roberts, Esq., Director, Brighton.
1903. BRITTON, MAJOR A. H. D., D.S.O., Glen, Soberton Road, Queen's Park, Bournemouth.
1919. BROOKE, G. C., Esq., M.A., Knowlton, Ashburton Road, Croydon.
1909. BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY, Frank P. Hill, Esq., Librarian, 26, Brevoort Place, Brooklyn, U.S.A.

1915. BRUSHFIELD, A. N., Esq., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Budleigh, Halifax, Yorkshire.
1922. BURNETT, EDGAR M., Esq., Holly Lodge, Westwood Road, Southampton.
1911. BURTON, FRANK ERNEST, Esq., J.P., Orston Hall, Nottinghamshire.
1903. CALDECOTT, J. B., Esq., 34-35, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.
1903. CALVERT, J. R., Esq., 63, Eastbank Street, Southport.
1908. CAMBRIDGE, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, S. C. Cockerell, Esq., Director.
1904. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, A. F. Scholfield, Esq., Librarian.
1922. *CAMPBELL, MRS. ROBERT JAMES, Hotel Weylin, 40, East 54th Street, New York.
1904. CARDIFF FREE LIBRARIES, Harry Farr, Esq., Librarian.
1903. *CARLYON-BRITTON, MAJOR P. W. P., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., Eversfield, Fishbourne, near Chichester.
1911. CARLYON-BRITTON, RAYMOND C., Esq., Eversfield, Fishbourne, near Chichester.
1906. CARTER, ERNEST CHRISTISON, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., Shottery Hall, Stratford-on-Avon.
1903. *CAVE, VISCOUNT, P.C., K.C., D.L., J.P., B.A., 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C. 2.
1915. CHAPIN, MRS. WILLIAM V., 142, Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1924. CHAPMAN, A. B., Esq., 40, High Pavement, Nottingham.
1903. CHITTY, ALFRED, Esq., Ewelme, Turner Street, South Camberwell, 27, Melbourne, Australia.
1914. CHRISTOPHER, RICHARD THORNEY, Esq., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire.
1906. CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY, Ohio, U.S.A., c/o Messrs. Stevens and Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, London, S.W. 1.
1912. *CLARKE-THORNHILL, T. B., Esq., 3, Carlisle Place, Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.
1924. CLEMENTS, C. HAMILTON, Esq., The Waffrons, Ditton Hill, Surbiton, Surrey.
1904. COLCHESTER, THE CORPORATION OF, H. C. Wanklyn, Esq., Town Clerk, Colchester.
1909. CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., Herbert Putnam, Esq., Litt.D., LL.D., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W. 2.
1909. CORNWALL, THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, COUNTY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY OF TRURO, George Penrose, Esq., Curator.
1904. CRANE, ALBERT CHARLES, Esq., 11, Duckett Road, London, N. 4.
1915. CREE, JAMES EDWARD, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Tusculum, North Berwick, Haddingtonshire.
1920. CROSS, HAROLD, Esq., M.D., Caradoc, Clun, Shropshire.
1913. CROUCH, WILLIAM, Esq., Friarscroft, Aylesbury.

1922. CROWTHER-BEYNON, VERNON B., Esq., M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., Westfield, Beckenham, Kent.
1922. CUNNINGTON, THOMAS M., Esq., Heylesbury, 88, West End Lane, London, N.W.
1909. DALE, WILLIAM, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., St. Margaret's, Oak Mount, Southampton.
1903. DANIELS, JAMES HERBERT, Esq., 13, Brixton Road, Brighton.
1903. DAVIS, W. J., Esq., C.H., 21, Rue de Chatres, Nevilly, Paris.
1917. DENMARK, THE ROYAL COLLECTION OF COINS AND MEDALS, Copenhagen.
1906. DENTON, SIR GEORGE CHARDIN, K.C.M.G., Hilltop, Headington Hill, Oxford.
1904. DERBY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, W. H. Walton, Esq., F.L.A., Librarian, Derby.
1914. DESICA CHARIAR, DIWAN BAHADUR T., B.A., Trichinopoly, Southern India.
1910. *DEVONSHIRE, THE DUKE OF, Chatsworth, Derbyshire.
1913. DRING, E. H., Esq.,—Bernard Quaritch,—11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.
1910. DUBLIN, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, The Controller, The Stationery Office, Oriel House, Westland Row, Dublin.
1904. DUBLIN, THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, R. Lloyd Praeger, Esq., O.B.E., Librarian, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin.
1904. DUBLIN, TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY, Dublin.
1909. DUTERTRE-DELÉVIELEUSE, M. LE DOCTEUR AUGUSTE, R.E., 12, Rue Coquelin, Boulogne-sur-Mer, France.
1913. DUVEEN, GEOFFREY, Esq., 40, Park Lane, London, W. 1.
1904. ECKERSLEY, JAMES CARLTON, Esq., M.A., J.P., Carlton Manor, Yeador, Leeds.
1904. EDINBURGH, THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, W. K. Dickson, Esq., The Keeper, Edinburgh.
1903. EDINBURGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, Hew Morrison, Esq., LL.D., Principal Librarian.
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
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LONDON :
HARRISON AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
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